THE COMMUNIST

. X DECEMBER, 1931 No. 11

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FROM THE CONTENTS

Wall Street and the Organization of the Anti-Soviet Front . . . . . *Harry Gannes*

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VOL. X DECEMBER, 1931 No. 11

CONTENTS

WALL STREET AND THE ORGANIZATION OF THE ANTI-SOVIET FRONT 963
By HARRY GANNES

THE PARTY ANNIVERSARY IN THE LIGHT OF OUR PRESENT TASKS 975
By ALEX BITTELMAN

THE MEANING OF THE WAGE CUTTING OFFENSIVE..... 985
By JOSEPH ZACK

BUILDING THE REVOLUTIONARY TRADE UNION MOVEMENT 995
By S. WILLNER

RESOLUTION OF THE PRAGUE CONFERENCE ON THE QUESTION OF UNEMPLOYMENT 1006

DILETTANTISM IN STRIKES 1015
By WM. Z. FOSTER

RELATIONS OF SCIENCE, TECHNOLOGY, AND ECONOMICS UNDER CAPITALISM AND IN THE SOVIET UNION.... 1018
By PROF. M. RUBINSTEIN

THESIS ON THE AGRARIAN QUESTION 1044
Adopted by the Second Congress of the Communist International

LENIN CORNER 1055

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ANNOUNCEMENT

Due to increased subscriptions in the last few months and increased sales generally it has become possible to reduce the selling price of *The Communist* beginning with the January issue to 20c per copy. The subscription price for one year will remain $2 but the six months' subscription will be reduced from $1.25 to $1.

The circulation must be still further increased in order to really stabilize the financial situation of *The Communist* at the new price and cover all overhead expenses and losses due to unsold copies. However, we are confident that with continued increasing support from the Party membership and revolutionary workers, which will receive new impetus due to the decreased price, which makes *The Communist* more available to them, we will be able to still further increase the circulation.

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Wall Street and the Organization of the Anti-Soviet Front

By HARRY GANNES

I. REALIGNMENT OF THE IMPERIALIST POWERS

AMERICAN imperialism is assuming the decisive leadership in the Anti-Soviet front. The policy of American imperialism toward the occupation of Manchuria by Japan; its active role in the political rapproachment of Germany with France (and consequently Germany with Poland); all the talk about the "cordial relations" between Washington and Paris, Washington and Rome, etc., cannot be understood without taking into account the central objective of American imperialism in creating a united economic and financial bloc against the Soviet Union, and in building bases in different parts of the world for the military attack against the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics.

This does not mean, of course, that the contradictions between the imperialist camps have temporarily disappeared or are even weakened. On the contrary, the basic antagonisms between the United States and Japan, the United States and Great Britain, the United States and all its European debtors; between Germany and France, France and Italy, England and France, etc., are sharpening within the conditions of a crisis of the capitalist system, the open bankruptcy of all the post-war treaties and the breakdown of the alleged temporary stabilization in inter-imperialist relations.

The new regroupments in the imperialist camps headed by America is based not on the weakening of the inter-imperialist conflicts but on their efforts to overcome these contradictions and to solve them in the direction of a common fight against the Soviet Union. The feverish activity in the preparation of this united front reflects the rapid tempo of the growth of the inter-imperialist contradictions.

Simultaneously, the imperialists understand that military intervention against the Soviet Union becomes a more and more complicated task. The rapid advance of socialist construction in the Soviet Union, the growing radicalization of the proletariat in the imperialist countries, under the influence of the socialist successes in the Soviet Union, on the one hand and the decay of capitalism, on the other, the developing colonial revolutions, which now receive a

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new impulse as a result of the disintegration of the British Empire —all these and similar factors force the imperialists to hasten with the preparation of the attack against the Soviet Union but creates for the imperialist powers new hindrances for the successful carrying out of these tasks. Hence, the combination of all forces and all methods for this preparation of war, such as has never been seen before.

II. MANCHURIA AS AN ANTI-SOVIET BASE

Never before was there such a complicated system of provocation, threats, false information and immediate pressure to involve the U. S. S. R. in a war.

American imperialism showed a readiness to adapt its rivalry with Japan in the Pacific to the main task of creating in Manchuria an imperialist base that could be used for the war against the Soviets and for the immediate crushing of Red China. The policy of Washington consisted, on the one hand, in encouraging Japan for deeper penetration into Manchuria, and on the other hand, to show to Japan that despite its strong military position in China, Japan could not maintain its monopolistic domination even in Manchuria without the consent and support of America.

The cynical play of Washington with the League of Nations (the demand to be "permitted" to have a representative in the Council at one session, and the decisive rejection of sending the same representative to subsequent sessions precisely at the moment when the League of Nations was in a ridiculous situation; the open declaration of its readiness to support the demand of the League, and at the same time the secret hint to Japan that America does not support the demand of immediate withdrawal of troops from Manchuria, etc.) has the aim of covering up this predatory and bloody policy by pacifist phrases of the League, as well as the purpose of guaranteeing that the European capitalists would be entangled in the Manchurian war more than America—a situation which insured for the powerful American imperialism the leading role in this conflict. This diplomacy of Stimson which it was possible for him to carry out by having a free hand as a result of the complete absence of so-called "public opinion" in the United States, was of doubtful success. As far as the task of provoking the Soviet Union to enter the war and of holding Japan in leash, and the using of Japanese imperialism to pull chesnuts out of the fire for the American bourgeoisie, it did not succeed at all. But Washington made a step in the re-grouping of all the anti-Soviet forces around Manchurian intervention toward its goal of strengthening the anti-Soviet front, and for the intervention in China. The "investigation commission"

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has the task of organizing an international intervention of the imperialist powers in China on an unprecedented scale against the Soviet territories.

At the same time, along with the "achievements" of American imperialism, it contributed more than any other imperialist power towards the bankruptcy of the League of Nations, by exposing of the League as well as the Kellogg pact as real instruments of war. This exposure, which should be used more than it has been until now for the organization of the masses for struggle against war, is at the same time the sharpest exposure of the Second International. The leaders of the Second International, no matter in what form they supported the maneuvers of their imperialisms in relation to the Manchurian war (it is known that Vandervelde defended the "just policy" of Japan in relation to China at the time when his American prototype, Norman Thomas, preached for a war of American imperialism against Japan), are direct participants in all the imperialist intrigues in the Far East and are caught red-handed as agents of imperialist war against the Soviet Union.

III. PRE-WAR SPECULATION

The pre-war atmosphere had already been used by the bourgeoisie in different countries. But especially is this true in the United States, where it is being used for the creation of speculation on the commodity markets. Along with the bourgeois speculators piling up high profits by unloading their reserve stocks of wheat, cotton, silver, etc., the capitalist press used this artificial pre-war "revival" as a means of propagandizing for a war as a way to "business recovery" and "national prosperity." In the most open form imaginable the New York *Evening Post* directly utilizes this pre-war speculation as an argument for war as a way out of the crisis. The New York *Evening Post* states:

> "Yesterday morning traders on the New York Stock Exchange heard a rumor that Japan had declared war on China. At such news of disaster one would think that stocks would go down. Not at all. Stocks went up. So did bonds. So did silver, by leaps and bounds. So did other commodities that have sulked at a low level for many months. In other words, war in the Far East, if Mr. Stimson does not drag us into it (this is precisely the phraseology of Wall Street preceding the last world war, referring to President Wilson. —H. G.), means business recovery in America. It would be good news, not bad news. What, we wonder, are the abolitionists of war going to do about that? How are they going to convince mankind that war is wholly bad, when the mere rumor of it brings to 120,000,000 the conviction of national prosperity?"

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Even the most cautious of the bourgeois press, which serves the war-makers in its special manner of covering up the extremity of the war preparations, the New York *Times*, could not conceal the fact that the rise of the commodity prices as an immediate result of the actual war in Manchuria. On one occasion the New York *Times* said:

> "The rising threat of war in the Far East yesterday whipped the silver market here and in London into a frenzy as the traders sought to anticipate an eager demand for the metal by China and Japan, should the hostilities in Manchuria burst into open hostilities." (Nov. 10, 1931.)

On November 21 the New York *Times* against stressed the fact that "such a war would create a demand for goods that could not help but make itself felt in the price structure of the world."

In the middle of November we could see the same speculation in cotton particularly. It was impossible to conceal the fact that this speculation was connected with war against the Soviet Union. The American capitalist press printed news liberally saying that the Japanese government would buy from one to three million bales of cotton which would help to relieve the glutted Southern markets in the event that the war in the Far East were to assume more gigantic forms.

All this stock market and commodity market maneuver was a speculation on the demands of the market that would be created by war. It in no way was based on any trace of economic revival. In fact, the crisis of capitalism was all the time getting worse, and is now going down to deeper levels. Production in all basic industries at the very moment the speculation was at its height was slumping below the record low levels.

In the case of wheat it became especially clear that a clique of speculators headed by Cuttings organized the spreading of false rumors through Paris and Canada that the U. S. S. R. is stopping its wheat exports for two years, and they capitalized on this lie to create a spurt in the prices on the grain exchange. This rumor has two purposes, first, to speculate and make profits, and second, to strengthen the slander that Soviet dumping was the reason for the impoverishment of the farmers in this country. But in all instances, the rise of prices was unstable and has since gone down considerably, not to speak of the fact that all this to no extent had any effect on production, and, of course, had no effect in stopping the rapid impoverishment of the masses. To "overcome" its crisis American imperialism cannot be satisfied with a small war in Manchuria; it needs a great war, preferably against the Soviet Union.

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IV. ORGANIZING A FINANCIAL BLOCKADE

Washington was particularly a leading force in organizing a financial blockade against the Soviet Union as an important sector of the anti-Soviet front. The New York *Times*, in a special and inspired article, which was repeated in the other capitalist newspapers, quoting an "official Washington spokesman," repeated in so many words the worst slanders of the white guard counter-revolutionary press about Soviet credits. The central idea of this campaign of lies for the creation of an anti-Soviet financial blockade was that Soviet credits are "uncertain," and that payments in foreign obligations "questionable." Stimson and Hoover had the arrogance of inspiring these lies at precisely the time when the Soviet Union was punctually paying all its debts generally, including those to America which refuses to grant any new credits to the Soviet Union. Indeed, this is in sharp contrast to the state of frozen credits throughout the capitalist world, including the frozen situation of the entire banking and real estate structure of American capitalism—which simply means the road to bankruptcy of the capitalist credit system. The purpose of the *Times* statement, in substance, was a direct appeal to the imperialist countries, especially to those who immediately depended upon Wall Street's "good-will" and credits, an appeal "to be cautious" in relation to the Soviet Union. It is not an accident that this special pressure by Washington was put on precisely during the negotiations between the representative of the Supreme Economic Council of the Soviet Union and the representatives of the German industrialists, who are interested in the extension of trade relations with the U. S. S. R. Hoover and Stimson are doing all they can to further this financial isolation. That this front breaks through at different sectors, is not the result of Stimson or Hoover, but is the pressure of conditions.

V. "INTERNATIONAL CONFIDENCE" AND WAR

Does the role of American imperialism in organizing the anti-Soviet front contradict its assumed function of pleading for "international confidence," for "international solutions," and for "internationalism" generally? Of course, not! On the contrary, the "internationalism" of Hoover and Wall Street means the attempt to overcome the inter-imperialist contradictions, even if it is a temporary and partial overcoming of these antagonisms, in order to spur on and organize their common hostility to the Soviet Union and to the advancing proletarian revolution. This is the substance of the visit of Laval and Grandi, the trip of Mellon, Stimson and

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Morgan to Europe, of all the "cordiality" that is directed to draw the imperialist powers around the axis of American imperialism in the anti-Soviet front by trying to subordinate the imperialist antagonisms to this main objective.

It is known that the Soviet Union utilized the various antagonisms between the imperialists and groups of imperialists to defeat open military interventions in 1917-21, and subsequent hostile activities of the imperialists. It is known further, that as a result of the world economic crisis, these contradictions are being sharpened and deepened. Does this go counter to the fact that the war danger against the Soviet Union is growing precisely now at the time of the sharpening antagonisms between the imperialists? No! The Manchurian war situation makes evident in the most concrete fashion the following characterization of the relation of capitalist contradictions to the growing imperialist united front against the Soviet Union.

> "The growing antagonism of interests between the imperialists does not diminish but, on the contrary, increases the danger of a war of intervention in the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics." (XI Plenum, Executive Committee, Communist International; Resolution on the War Danger.)

Later we will see how the imperialists try to adapt their contradictions, to create in Manchuria and Mongolia a base for anti-Soviet war and for the crushing of the Chinese revolution.

VI. IMPERIALIST CONTRADICTIONS AND THE FAILURE OF THE INTERVENTION OF 1918-1921

In November, 1921, summarizing the new tasks confronting the Communist Party of the U. S. S. R., resulting from the defeat of the inter-Allied intervention, comrade Lenin at the meeting of the bureaus of the shop nuclei in Moscow, gave an estimation of the main existing antagonisms between the imperialist powers. It is very instructive to recall this characterization after ten years and trace the development and the influence of these contradictions in the present period.

"There are," Lenin stated, "fundamental contradictions in the present capitalist world that it is necessary to utilize. There are three of them which I would like to cite." Lenin then referred to: (1) the contradiction between Japan and America; (2) between America and the rest of the capitalist world; (3) between the Entente and Germany. In reference to the first contradiction Lenin stated:

"The world is already divided. Japan seized enormous numbers

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of colonies. Japan has a population of 50,000,000 and she is relatively weak economically. America has a population of 110,000,000. She has no colonies, although she is many times richer than Japan. . . ."

Concerning the second contradiction, Lenin said: "The other is between America and the rest of the capitalist world. Almost all of the 'conquerors' came out of the war with a gigantic loot. America is strong. All owe to her at present, all depend upon her. She is more and more hated. She plundered all and she plundered in a very specific manner. She has no colonies. England came out of the war with gigantic colonies. France also . . . all this shows that America cannot reconcile itself to the other countries because there is the deepest friction between them because America is richer than the others. . . ."

. . In both instances, Lenin stresses the fact that American imperialism lacks colonies corresponding to its imperialist power and position. The conclusion is: "It is ridiculous to think that the stronger capitalism will not take away from the weakest capitalism the booty robbed by the latter. . . ."

"And the third contradiction," Lenin said, "is between the Entente and Germany. Germany is defeated and dominated by the Versailles treaty, but she has gigantic economic probabilities. Germany is the second country in the world in the degree of her economic development, second to America. . . . And on such a country was imposed the Versailles treaty with which she cannot live. Germany, one of the strongest and most forward capitalist countries, cannot withstand the Versailles treaty and Germany will look for an ally, being itself imperialistic and oppressed."

VII. WALL STREET'S STRUGGLE FOR OUTRIGHT COLONIES

Never before has the problem of re-division of the existing colonial booty and of the creation of new colonial enslavements played such a decisive role in the policy of American imperialism as at present in the condition of a growing industrial and financial crisis. The main basis of the antagonism between the United States and Japan, the United States and Europe, especially England, which is the focal point of the American-European contradictions, remains, as Lenin emphasized, the fact that the United States, being the strongest imperialist country ("All owe to her at present; all depend on her. She is more and more hated."), has no colonies. But it is precisely the crisis that is transforming the task of the American bourgeoisie of conquering new markets and monopolizing new sources of raw materials into a problem of grabbing new colonies, and,

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particularly *complete* colonies, or of transforming semi-colonies and spheres of influence into outright colonies by immediate territorial occupation, with not only economic but political monopoly. This is determined by the development of the inner struggle as well as the outer struggle of the United States. In the inner relations, the American bourgeoisie is building the hoped-for "prosperity" on the basis of the shrinkage of the inner market as a result of a drastic and permanent lowering of the standard of living of the masses, their starvation and misery, in the form of chronic unemployment, stagger plan, sweeping wage cuts, ruining of the small farmers, etc. The so-called theory of high wages, even as a hypocritical means of deceiving the masses, is given up. All the "plans" (Swope, stagger, etc.) of bringing back "prosperity," in their substance are built on the hope of extending, and in a very short time, the foreign markets.

The rejection of the "high wage" policy in the inner relationships, goes on with a rejection of the "open door" policy in the struggle for foreign markets, although not in so open a form. This signifies that American imperialism does not expect to defeat its competitors only, or primarily, by means of financial and technical advantages. No matter how low wages are cut in the United States, the maintenance of the gold standard in the world financial conflict makes it difficult for it to compete with British and German exports based in turn on a systematic lowering of starvation wages. At the same time the bitter experience with "frozen" credits makes the American bourgeoisie less inclined to use the export of capital in the form of credits as the main means of capturing foreign trade.

American industrialists prefer to force their way through by means of open colonial violence and political monopolistic domination. The colonial slave holders' system of British imperialism in India is now the model for the expansion of American imperialism. The theory of Nicholas Roosevelt, who was made lieutenant governor of the Philippines by Hoover, and then forced to abandon this position, was the decisive step in this direction. Roosevelt openly advocated the adoption of the Dutch and British colonial system, dropping all pretense at promises of "independence," establishing more stringent slavery, expressed in the phrase "keep their bellies full and their heads empty," which in the language of the slave holder, means not so much to feed the masses as to drive from their minds any idea of independence.

It is obvious that the fight of American imperialism for colonies is a fight of life and death against British imperialism which has within its grasp all the choice morsels; a fight against Japan which

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strategically stands in the way of American penetration in the Far East; a fight against all the imperialist anachronisms such as the holding by Holland, this miserable and powerless imperialism, one of the best colonies, Indonesia, with its source of rubber so coveted by Wall Street. "It is ridiculous to think that the stronger capitalism will not take away from the weakest capitalism the booty robbed by the latter. . . ."

It is beyond consideration that Britain, as well as Japanese imperialism, weakened by the economic and financial crisis, should be inclined to share the least particle of their colonial booty with anybody, even with American imperialism. The same forces that impel American imperialism to hunt for colonies determines the resistance of the old slave-holders to hold on to what they have, as well as to increase their colonial territory. British imperialism, despite its disintegration, remains a destructive force of tremendous importance. The new British tariff, which even the bourgeois economists define as a tariff war, shows how far England is going and will go in this direction. The feverish building up of the naval forces, under the cover of the disarmament talks, showed the extent of the acceleration of the war preparations under the influence of the crisis. The exclusive brutality in the bloody oppression of the national revolutionary movement in India and Cyprus during the past few months, show that the MacDonald-Churchill government is proving to the imperialists its "right" to carry out its mission of "civilization" among the backward peoples.

Japanese military robbery in Manchuria is an indication of how it will defend and extend its colonial holdings by means of an uncompromising fight, and if necessary, against all its competitors, including American imperialism.

It is in Manchuria where all the contradictions of the imperialist powers have their sharpest expression at the present time, and nevertheless, and because of this, it is here that we see the formation of the united front directed against the Soviet Union. An examination and study of the development of the Manchurian struggle, and the maneuvering of each of the imperialist powers, and their combinations, would show us in a concrete form the process of the adaption of the inter-imperialist antagonisms in Manchuria to united actions against the U. S. S. R.

Not to see this means to fall into the trap of the social-fascists who prefer to cover up the immediate menace to the Chinese revolution and the military intrigues and provocations against the U. S. S. R. by seeing only the rivalry of the imperialists in Manchuria; and, of course, by trying to make the workers believe that these rivalries can be smoothened out by pacifist phrases.

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Not to see this would mean not to understand that no matter how the contradictions between the imperialists are sharpening, the violent hate and the growing fear of the world of decaying capitalism against the world of advancing Socialism, is overwhelming precisely now in the face of the further deep development of the crisis.

VIII. THE FRANCO-GERMAN CONFLICT AND THE ANTI-SOVIET FRONT

The same analysis can be applied with relation to the German-French conflict. The crisis uncovered the complete bankruptcy of the Versailles system with all its ramifications (Dawes, Young Plan, Hoover moratorium, etc.). Even bourgeois diplomacy is forced to admit that the crisis is developing on the basis of imperialist war and the "peace treaty." Hoover speaks about the crisis as "an economic plight second only to the great war"; and MacDonald states that the existing economic relationships are no less than "a crazy economy." The bourgeois economists in all countries admit in one or another form the impossibility of carrying out the treaties that attempted to set up an equilibrium between the victor France and the vanquished Germany. As a matter of fact, Germany cannot and will not pay its reparations and loans. Regardless of the lengths to which the German bourgeoisie go in exploiting the German masses, it cannot meet reparations or debt payments. Simultaneously, the crisis in France, the deficit in the governmental budget, the decreasing foreign trade, the usurious greed of the French imperialists, contribute to intensify the insistence of France upon the continuation of plundering its victim. And under such conditions is the "marriage" of Ruhr coal with French iron ore taking place (and according to Laval, in the White House there took place the nuptials between the dollar and the mark). But at what expense is this wedding taking place? It is beyond doubt that both sides have uppermost in the minds the forming of this *mis-alliance* at the political and economic expense of the Soviet Union; economically because the economic subordination of Germany to France would be compensated for the promise of the possibility of Germany's "development to the East" which would mean imperialist penetration in the Soviet Union; politically because the Bruening-Hindenburg-social-fascist government would receive assurance against the proletarian revolution and the "friendship" and "justice" of her Eastern neighbor, Poland, as compensation for participation in the anti-Soviet front and for the passage of French troops across Germany.

Here also we see how German and French imperialists are trying

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to find a solution of their growing antagonisms in the direction of common action against the Soviet Union.

IX. STRENGTHEN THE FORCES WORKING FOR THE DEFENSE OF THE SOVIET UNION!

All these developments, the regroupings of the imperialist powers for a re-division of the colonial empires and for war against the Soviet Union, go on amidst the growing social contradictions in each country and the sharpest class struggles. The same forces of decaying capitalism which express themselves in imperialist aggressiveness and war preparations are increasing the economic and political offensive of bourgeois reaction against the working class and the poor farmers in each country. The building of the anti-Soviet front is one of the elements, the most decisive element, of this offensive. It means that the war policy of the imperialists meets hindrances on its way, and those hindrances are growing and will grow. The subjective factor, the leading role of the Communist Party, its activity, the growing of its influence upon ever larger masses, and the organizational consolidation of this influence, the systematic, stubborn work of the Communist Party in leading the masses into a real mass revolutionary struggle against the offensive of the bourgeoisie and against the war—all these factors become more and more decisive in the development of events.

The provocations and preparations of the war incendiaries are growing. But at the same time, the forces that are working for the effective resistance of the Soviet Union and for the defense of the workers' fatherland are strengthening and broadening. The decisive role in this respect is the rapid advance of socialist construction in the Soviet Union. This advance of socialist upbuilding in the Soviet Union consolidates the power of the proletarian dictatorship, effectively crushing out all bourgeois remnants and counter-revolutionary forces, eliminating imperialist allies, raises the enthusiasm and devotion of the proletarian and collectivist masses for the defense of the revolution, and fortifies the inconsistent peace policy of the Soviet Union and its technical base defense against the imperialist offensive. At the same time, the undoubted fact that the relation of forces in the Soviet Union has decisively changed in favor of Socialism in the course of the period of the proletarian dictatorship, cannot but have a tremendous influence on the international proletariat and the colonial masses, and consequently increases the international forces that are working for the defense of the Soviet Union.

The crisis which raises the hostility of decaying capitalism to the

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Soviet Union makes more visible and clear for the broadest masses the principal differences between, and the unquestionable superiority of socialist planned economy over the anarchy of decaying capitalism. While in all the capitalist countries we have a steady reduction of production, and the artificial speculative "revival," which are utilized by the financial cliques at the expense of the further deepening of the crisis, in the Soviet Union industrial production in the current year *will exceed the pre-war level nearly three-fold.* While in the capitalist countries there is increasing misery, starvation, disease, unemployment, wage cuts, suicides and prostitution, in the Soviet Union the cultural and material level of the working population, their creative activity, and their hopeful, happy outlook for the future are rising steadily before the eyes of the whole world. In view of the successes of the Soviet Union, the terror and growing oppression of the bourgeoisie becomes a factor, not in driving back the growing struggles of the workers, but in their radicalization and increases their determination to find a revolutionary way out of the crisis, and to mobilize all forces for the defense of the Soviet Union.

The same applies to the oppressed peoples, these reserves of the proletarian revolution. The imperialist aggression against the colonies, for the increasing oppression of the colonial masses, and for their enslavement, is met by the revolutionary upsurge throughout all the colonial world, which in China has already the organizational form of the Soviet territories and Red Army. Led by the international proletariat these broad reserves present a tremendous, active but still greater potential force against the anti-Soviet war front, and for the transformation of imperialist wars into civil wars.

Recent events make it possible and necessary to fight against the preparations for war against the Soviet Union, not in a general but in a concrete form. Each step of the war preparations must not only be immediately exposed before the masses as a menace to the Soviet Union, but it must be shown to be a part of the general offensive against the working class within the United States, and it must be counteracted by concrete mass revolutionary actions. The propaganda and agitational exposure of the war danger against the Soviet Union, without concrete organizational struggles is inadequate and insufficient, especially in the present situation.

Here lies the main weakness in the activity of our Party. More than ever before are the conditions present for the decisive overcoming of this weakness.

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The Party Anniversary in the Light of Our Present Tasks

By ALEX BITTELMAN

IN its Open Letter to the Sixth Convention of our Party the Executive Committee of the Communist International said the following:

> "The Workers (Communist) Party is obviously still unprepared for the great class conflicts which will inevitably arise on the basis of the sharpening class relations in the United States. *Its past still weighs upon its present* (Our emphasis—A. B.). The relics of the previous period of its existence form the greatest obstacle in the path it has to travel before it successfully passes the turning point and develops *in the shortest possible time* from a numerically small propagandist organization into a mass political party of the American working class."

This task, the task of developing our Party from a numerically small propagandist organization into a mass political Party of the working class, the Open Letter qualified as "the chief, fundamental and decisive task to which all other tasks must be entirely subordinated." Furthermore, the Open Letter said that this is the task "which the whole objective situation in the United States, the entire post-war development of American imperialism places before the Party."

The Address of the E.C.C.I. to all members of the Communist Party of the United States, after the Sixth Convention, approaches our problems in this period from the same angle. The Address stresses the vital necessity of our Party converting itself *in the shortest possible time* into a mass political Party of the working class. It points out that this task has assumed a particularly decisive character in view of the fundamental tasks arising before us "in connection with the accentuation of the inner and outer contradictions of American imperialism in the present period."

Since the E.C.C.I. Address in the summer of 1929, our Party has been engaged in the work of converting itself into a mass political Party of the American working class. Its chief weapon for the attainment of this end has been and continues to be the organization and leadership of the daily struggles of the masses against the capitalist offensive and the liquidation of the relics of the previous period which obstruct our progress in the present period.

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The Twelfth Anniversary of our Party, which occurred in September of this year, finds us on the path which leads to a mass Communist Party and freed from some of the relics of the previous period—the inner factional struggle—which were obstructing our growth. The turning point, however, we have not yet passed—that turning point which we must successfully pass in order to be able to convert our Party into a mass political Party in the shortest possible time. The Thirteenth Plenum of our Central Committee declared that only "the first beginning of the turn toward mass work was made," that "the process is only begun," that we must now seize that particular link in the chain which would enable us to pass to the next link and to turn the corner. The Plenum has pointed out to the Party the nature of that link. It is the building of the Party and revolutionary unions in the shops, organizing and leading the daily struggles of the employed and unemployed workers, combatting energetically all manifestations of opportunism. The carrying out of the practical tasks formulated by the Thirteenth Plenum, increasing the tempo of our work day by day in order to catch up with the demands of the sharpening crisis and war danger, will create the prerequisites for the successful passing of the turning point from which the Party will be able to develop in the shortest possible time into a mass political Party of the American working class.

To fulfil the practical tasks formulated by the Thirteenth Plenum means to continue to liquidate those relics of the previous period which are still obstructing our growth. These are chiefly remnants of opportunism—right opportunism (the main danger in the present period) and "left" sectarianism which is also opportunism. It is from this angle that we must approach the review of the Party's past development on the occasion of its Twelfth Anniversary.

THREE PERIODS IN THE PARTY'S DEVELOPMENT

It is possible to distinguish three definite periods in the development of our Party. (1) The first period is the period of separation from social-reformism and the gathering of the communists in the United States into one Party. (2) The second period is the period in which the Communist Party developed itself into a propagandist of communism and functioned primarily as a propagandist organization. (3) The third period is the period in which the Party begins to emerge from the propagandist stage, moving to the turning point from which will become possible its rapid conversion into a mass political Party of the working class.

This division of our Party's past development into definite and distinct periods, like every other historic demarcation, must be viewed

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dialectically. That is, that some of the problems and tasks of one period were carried over into the succeeding period and that the problems and tasks of the succeeding period were already present, at least in embryonic form, in the previous period. This, however, does not prevent us from distinguishing definite periods in the Party history. In what sense? In the sense that each period placed before us specific and peculiar tasks, which we undertook to fulfil in a certain way, thus reaching the next period, the successive stage in the development of the Party, with its own specific and peculiar tasks.

First Period. We defined the first period as the one in which took place the differentiation and separation from social-reformism and the gathering together of the American communists into one Party. This period may be said to have concluded with the organization of the Workers Party in 1921.

The beginning of this period is marked by intense ideological and organizational struggles in the American labor movement (socialist and trade union) of the adherents of militant class struggle against the reformist policies of the official leadership. The fight of the American labor militants and left socialists against Gompersism and Hillquitism was the *essentially* (but not fully) of the same character as the fight of the revolutionary Marxists against the opportunists and revisionists in the Second International in the period that preceded the late imperialist world war.

When did this period begin? In a broad historical sense, the crystallization of the theory and practice of the revolutionary class struggle of the American proletariat, whose complete and conscious expression in Marxism-Leninism began with the first manifestations of working-class struggle against capitalist exploitation in the United States. The historic roots of the communist movement of the United States go back to the birth of the American working class and the class struggle. These roots have absorbed and grown upon the life-blood of all the struggles of the American working class and its advance guard through the various periods in the history of the class struggle in the United States.

But in a narrow sense, in the sense of the phase that immediately preceded the formation of the Communist Party and Communist Labor Party (C.P. and C.L.P.) in September, 1919, the first period of our Party's history can be said to begin with the organizational crystallization of the left wing in the Socialist Party in 1918. The organization of the left wing was preceded by years of struggle against reformism in the socialist and trade union movement of the country. This struggle, with its ups and downs, had several culminating points in the years of 1905, 1912, 1914 and 1917.

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Through all these struggles the left and militant elements in the labor movement had given expression, often in a confused and incomplete manner, to the interests and aspirations of the American proletariat as against the corrupt labor bureaucracy, aristocracy and petty-bourgeois reformism. This was in essence the meaning of the struggle for industrial unionism as against craft unionism, for class struggle as against class collaboraiton, for revolutionary Socialism as against the petty-bourgeois reformism of the Hillquits and Bergers. The consolidation of American imperialism in the pre-war period, with the consequent sharpening of all inherent contradictions of capitalism, has produced on the one hand Gompersism and Hillquitism, the expression of the corrupt bureaucracy and aristocracy of labor, and on the other hand it has also produced the various left and militant tendencies in the labor movement which gave expression to the awakening proletariat, to its dawning consciousness of the need of revolutionary class struggle and organization.

The left wing of the Socialist party of 1918 was the forerunner and organizer of our Party. With it began (strictly speaking) the ideological and organizational differentiation of revolutionary Socialism—later, Communism—from reformism. This left wing was born in the heat and under the pressure of the late imperialist world war which opened up the epoch of proletarian and colonial revolutions, and at the inception of the great wave of strikes in the United States that followed the end of the war. Because of this fact, this left wing was more conscious of its mission and objective than its predecessors. It declared war against reformism along the entire front. It battled against Gompersism and Hillquitism on the question of war, taking its position against the imperialist war, at first semi-pacifist but later approaching the Leninist position. It sided unequivocally with the proletarian revolution in Russia. It was trying to link itself up internationally with the revolutionary socialists led by Lenin in the Second International. With the formation of the Communist International, this left wing made its major battle of that period in the labor movement of the United States on the issue of breaking with the treacherous Second International and for joining the Communist International. It was in the process of this struggle against imperialism and imperialist war, for the class strugle and against class collaboration, for revolutionary Socialism against petty-bourgeois reformism, for the proletarian revolution in Russia, for the Communist International against the Second International, that there began the process of *organizational* separation from the reformists in the Socialist party which led to the organization of the two Communist Parties in September, 1919.

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The organization of the two Communist Parties took place in the midst of the first period of the post-war development of capitalism, the period of "extremely acute crisis of the capitalist system and of direct revolutionary action on the part of the proletariat" (Resolution of VI Congress of C.I.) The working class of the United States was in great fermentation. Great strikes were in process of development in the steel industry, mining, railroad, meat-packing, etc. But the ideological differentiation between reformism and revolutionary Socialism was at that time very little known or understood by the masses. This fact, arising partly from the historically delayed organizational separation of the revolutionary socialists from the reformists, together with the formation of *two* Communist Parties struggling with each other, offers the main reason for the relative ineffectiveness of the Communist Parties in those strikes. The strong sectarian tendencies prevalent in the two Parties at that time had worked towards the same end.

In view of the above, what were the specific tasks of the communists of that period and to what extent did they succeed in fulfilling them?

The first of the tasks that was placed before us by the objective situation and by the internal condition of the young communist movement at that time was *to unify it*, to bring together all adherents of the Communist International *into one party*. This involved the task of *completing* the organizational break with the reformist political parties since various groups of adherents of the Communist International had remained in the "Socialist" parties, especially the Socialist Party of America, subsequent to the formation of the Communist Parties in September, 1919, and the unification of these two Parties (Communist Party and Communist Labor Party) into one Party. The second task was to establish active contact with the proletarian masses and mass movements. This involved the task of penetrating the reformist mass organizations, especially the A. F. of L., the organization of the communists and their sympathizers within the reformist unions for the struggle against Gomperism, the popularization of the communist program among the masses on the basis of their daily struggles and experiences, and skilful resistance to the efforts of the reformists and the government to isolate us from the masses and to drive the young communist movement underground (the Palmer raids) while building up all necessary machinery for the protection of the Party organization from governmental attacks. The third task was to deepen and extend the struggle against reformist ideology, to analyze the American situation in a theoretical way from the communist point

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of view and to educate the membership to an understanding of Marxism-Leninism.

These tasks, which were placed before us by the external and internal conditions of the communist movement at that time, were only partially fulfilled during the first period of the Party's existence. The vital task of establishing active contact with the masses and of organizing the communists and militant workers within the A. F. of L. for the struggle against the Gompers policies and leadership—this fundamental task of the first period was left almost untouched. This task, the fulfillment of which was to create the prerequisites for the independent leadership of the daily struggles of the workers by the communists, began to be tackled in earnest only in the second period of the Party's existence, following the formation of the Workers Party at the end of 1921. Nor were the communists successful in the first year or so, in combatting effectively the wall of illegality that the government had tried to erect between our Party and the masses. However, the achievements of the period stand out quite clearly. The communist movement was unified under the pressure and guidance of the Communist International. The Party withstood the terrific onslaught of the Palmer raids and the regime of persecution that followed. It succeeded in drawing a clear line of demarcation between itself and the reformists, drawing into its ranks and rallying around itself the most mature and militant elements in the labor movement. The communists came to the first convention of the Workers Party with a clearer realization of the nature of those opportunist tendencies which have militated against the Party's growth, especially in the field of mass work.

What were those tendencies? First there was the "left" opportunist conception that revolutionists can have nothing to do with reformist unions, that the communists must not work in the reactionary unions of the A. F. of L., that they must build their own unions. Considering the objective situation of the time and the fact that the communist movement had just been organized, this meant in practice no work in the unions and no mass work. It meant to condemn the Party to the position of a sect. On the other hand, there was the right opportunist conception, taken over from the S.P. reformist leadership, that we must live "in peace" with the reactionary bureaucrats of the A. F. of L. and that the "political arm" of the movement (the Party) must not interfere with and "dictate" its policies to the unions. This meant to surrender the masses to Gompers and to the capitalists. It meant no work in the unions and no revolutionary mass work of any kind. These oppor-

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tunist tendencies, especially the "left" sectarian tendency, were primarily responsible for the fact that the fundamental tasks of our movement in its first period were fulfilled only partially as was indicated above. These two opportunist tendencies have manifested themselves in all fields of Party activity—in the question of legal and illegal work, parliamentary activities, partial demands and daily economic struggles, etc. In the struggle against these tendencies, in the clarification of the correct policies with the direct and systematic assistance of the C.I. and R.I.L.U., the Party had moved forward to internal consolidation, to the establishment of contacts with the workers and their mass organizations, and to a better understanding of Leninist policies and tactics. In this way the Party had reached the second period of its existence, the next and higher stage in its development which was ushered in by the first convention of the Workers Party at the end of 1921.

Second Period. The second period in the history of our Party is the period in which it developed itself into a propagandist of Communism and functioned primarily as a propagandist organization. Essentally, the Party is still in this period, but just now it is beginning to emerge from it. Already there are signs to show that we are nearing a new period in the life of the Party—the period of development into a mass political Party of the American working class.

This period, which is thus far the longest in our Party's history, is marked by the following characteristics: (a) the Party carries on systematic work in the unions of the A. F. of L., taking the leadership in the organization of the left wing in the unions (T.U.E.L.); (b) the Party begins to participate in the political struggles, especally in various election campaigns, aiming to apply in this field the policy of the united front, evolving in this process its labor party policies; (c) the illegal Communist Party and the Workers Party (its legal expression) become fully merged; (d) the Party takes the first steps in the direction of work among the Negro masses; (e) there become crystallized within the Party two rigid factions, carrying on an almost uninterrupted struggle during most of this period, until the summer of 1929 when the E.C.C.I. address lays the basis for the liquidation of the factional situation; (f) the appearance of Trotzkyism and the development of right opportunism and the struggle of the Party against it.

The development of our Party in the course of these years was taking place on the basis and within the framework of the second period in the development of post-war capitalism. This was the period of "gradual and partial stabilization of the capitalist system, of the "restoration" process of capitalist economy, of the development and expansion of the capitalist offensive and of the continua-

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tion of the defensive battles fought by the proletarian army weakened by severe defeats. On the other hand this period was a period of rapid restoration in the U.S.S.R., of extremely important successes in the work of building up Socialism, and also of the growth of the political influence of the Communist Parties over the broad masses of the proletariat." (Resolution of VI Congress of C.I.)

The peculiarities of the objective conditions at the time of the formation of the Workers Party (end of 1921 and beginning of 1922) arose from the fact that it was a period of transition from the first period of post-war capitalism to its second period. That is, the transition from the period of "extremely acute crisis of the capitalist system and of direct revolutionary action on the part of the proletariat" to the period of temporary and relative stabilization and "the continuation of the defensive battles fought by the proletarian army weakened by severe defeats." The greatest danger that confronted our Party at that time was the danger of "left" sectarianism which threatened to isolate us from the masses by failing to utilize the then existing possibilities for communist mass work, especially the work in the A. F. of L. and the systematic application of the united front policy. At the same time the Party was menaced by the tendencies of right opportunism which tended to relinquish the independent revolutionary role of the Communist Party by various maneuvres on top with reformist leaders.

Between the years of 1922-1927 the Party has developed into a propagandist organization. It functioned primarily as a propagandist of Communism. Its efforts to become a mass Party of the American proletariat and the leader of the daily struggles of the workers against capitalist exploitation and capitalist rule have been seriously hampered by the opportunist tendencies and by the inner factional struggle, with the consequence that the beginning of the third period in the post-war development of capitalism found our Party unprepared for the great class conflicts that have arisen and continue to arise in increasingly sharper forms.

The possibilities for our Party becoming the leader of the daily struggle of the masses, and hence for its conversion into the mass political Party of the American proletariat, were already inherent in the objective conditions that were beginning to shape themselves around 1927. This was clearly seen in the big strike movements of that year (miners, furriers, garment workers, textile in New Bedford and Paterson) in which the Party and the T.U.E.L. were playing a leading and organizing role. From these struggles, and the independent leading role played by us in them, the road was opening up for a new period in the life of our Party. The second period of post-war capitalism was coming to an end and the third

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period was approaching with all the possibilities and responsibilities that this situaton was bringing to us. But the Party was unable to utilize fully these possibilities, to reorientate itself and to make the turn towards the approaching new period, because of the acute factional situation in the Party and the serious right opportunist tendencies that have accumulated in the Party in the previous years.

Hence the Open Letter of the E.C.C.I. to the VI Convention of the Party had to declare that "from a propagandist organization . . . the Workers (Communist) Party *is now beginning* (Our emphasis—A. B.) to turn into a mass Party," that "the Party is now just making its first steps on the new path. It is now just on the threshold between the old and new, it has not yet passed the turning point." It was in this letter that the E.C.C.I. also declared that "the existing factions must be resolutely and definitely liquidated. The factional struggle must be unconditionally stopped. Without this *no mass communist party of the American proletariat can be organized.*"

The liquidation of factionalism which became a condition for the growth of the Party, for the successful struggle against the right danger as the main danger in the present period and for the conversion of the Party into a mass Party, was accomplished after the Sixth Convention of the Party with the help of the Address of the E.C.C.I. which constitutes a milestone in the Party's history. In this way the conditions were created for a fresh and determined effort to pass the turning point that leads to the conversion from a propagandist organization into a mass political Party of the American working class.

Third Period. This period we have defined as the one in which the Party begins to emerge from the propagandist stage moving to the turning point from which will become possible its rapid conversion into a mass political Party of the working class. Strictly speaking it is not yet a completely new period. It is more in the nature of a transition stage from the old to the new but with this specific characteristic that the Party is now moving *unitedly, consciously and honestly* towards the turning point the passage of which will mark the full unfolding of the third period—the rapid development of our Party into a mass Party.

Herein lies the basic explanation for our lagging behind the radicalization of the masses. Whereas objectively the capitalist system and the world labor movement are already fully in the third period of post war development our Party still finds itself *in transition* to the present period. It is true that the tempo of our movement is continually increasing but not sufficiently to catch up with the continued shattering of capitalist stabilization and the growng radi-

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calization of the masses. The successive stages of the Party's development since the E.C.C.I. Address (the VII Convention, the XII and XIII Plenums of the Central Committee each marked a step in advance, at the same time taking note of the outstanding fact that we continue to lag behind. We must therefore make haste in the execution of the decisions of the XIII Plenum.

The 12th Anniversary of our Party finds us free from factional divisions, united behind the Central Committee on the line of the C.I., extending our influence among the masses and our leadership of their daily struggles, and determined to convert ourselves into a mass Party. Our Party stands out today as the only leader of the workers in their daily struggles against the capitalist offensive (unemployment, wage cuts, imperialist war and intervention, etc.) The great and historic strike of the miners, the strikes of the textile workers in Paterson and Lawrence, the struggles of the unemployed and the fight against imperialist war and intervention organized and led by our Party and the revolutionary unions of the T.U.U.L. are ample proof of this fact; while the Lovestone and Cannon renegades have moved into the camp of the enemy. At the same time we are still hampered by some of the relics of the previous period of our existence (right and "left" opportunism, especially right opportunism, formalism and bureaucracy) which we must combat consistently and energetically as formulated by the XIII Plenum of our Central Committee.

In its Address to our membership in the summer of 1929, the E.C.C.I. said:

> "With a distinctness unprecedented in history, American capitalism is exhibiting now the effects of the inexorable laws of capitalist development, the laws of decline and downfall of capitalist society. The general crisis of capitalism is growing more rapidly than it may seem at first glance. The crisis will shake also the foundation of the power of American imperialism."

The truth of this prognostication is realized not only by us, members of the Party, but is beginning to be felt and understood by hundreds of thousands and millions of American workers. The deepening crisis, the war danger (war already a reality in Manchuria), the entry of the U.S.S.R. into the period of Socialism—these are hastening the radicalization of the masses leading them to a realization of the need of a revolutionary way out of the crisis. More than ever the masses need the leadership of our Party and the revolutionary unions of the T.U.U.L. This leadership we must bring to the masses without delay, exposing and combatting the right and "left" reformists with their renegade assistants that are trying desperately to check the radicalization of the masses.

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The Meaning of the Wage Cutting Offensive

By JOSEPH ZACK

WHAT is new for us in the new low level reached by the crisis? Some comrades think that there is practically nothing new, and there is not much to discuss. However, there is the following that is new, and that is amongst other things, the brazen announcement of an open wage cutting campaign by the leading corporations, like United States Steel, railroads, automobile, etc. Let us examine this new development on the basis of the line of the Plenum of the Central Committee.

It seems to me that the best way to see the significance to us of this new development is to take up concretely the effect this has had ths far upon the working class, for instance, the fine response of the workers to our mass meetings in the heavy industrial centers, the rapid growth of the membership of the Trade Union Unity League and the Party in these centers, so much so that the Pittsburgh district is about to become the second largest district in the Party. We see spontaneous strikes in large scale plants in various parts of the country. What does this mean to us? It means that the wage cuts are stirring up the basic sections of the proletariat, the most backward sections that have very little tradition even in the most elementary forms of class struggle. It means that we have now a real broad basis for building up the revolutionary trade unions and that the objective situation created through the wage cuts now opens up to us the doors of heavy and large scale industry more than ever, *that it gives us the practical basis for executing the re-orientation towards big industry that we have been striving for a long time.* The truth of this was emphasized by the character of the discussion of the Pittsburgh plenum of the National Committee of the T. U. U. L., and the representation that was there, principally from heavy industry.

NEW EXPERIENCES, NEW METHODS

The discussion at the Pittsburgh plenum was almost entirely along the lines of what organizing methods to use *in the immediate future in large scale plants.* Some preliminary experiences have been registered in the discussion but the problem *how to do it in*

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practice still lays before us. That is, we have to yet learn organizing methods that are practical for this type of industry. Most of our experiences in the past were in light and small shop industry. Theoretically we spoke very much about all these problems in the past, *but now we are facing them more than ever in an immediate practical sense.* The question of conducting national organizing campaigns of preparing the masses for a national strike movement, the question of stimulating local strikes as the starting spark, woven in and taking place in the midst of a national strike movement these are some of the immediate concrete and practical problems that we must solve now. All of which means that we must seek for new organizing methods, must look upon strike strategy from a point of view of trustified and large scale industry that is, solve in the immediate future problems that before we conceived only theoretically.

DEFENSIVE STRUGGLE

Due to the fact that the big masses of workers, particularly in the heavy and large scale industry, are unorganized, the struggle that is now brewing against the wage cuts, further speed-up and lay-offs, will be essentially a defensive struggle. That is, a struggle to force the bourgeoisie to withdraw the wage cuts. In this struggle our task is to establish a minimum organization in the form of entrenchment of the revolutionary unions through individual recruiting, obtain wherever possible recognition of shop committees, and the settlement of minor grievances in the various plants and departments of the plants, etc. The extension of our influence that the defensive struggle offers to us, be it against the wage cuts or other grievances, the possibilities of a vast extension of our organization in the course of this defensive struggle lays the basis for struggles of the character of counter-offensive later on. Therefore, it is of greatest importance to clearly understand what results can be expected from a defensive struggle, not to confuse aims suited to a defensive struggle with those of the counter-offensive, etc. Of course, this does not mean that as soon as the strike wave develops in big industry that in some of the small scale industries there will not take place strikes that assume the character of a counter-offensive. Neither does it exclude the possibilities in the case of real mass response of the workers even in large scale industries of the possibility of winning some demands characteristic of a counter-offensive. This does not basically change the fact that the struggle that we are now facing is in the main of a defensive nature.

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PARTIAL DEMANDS AND PARTIAL STRIKES

Not the least confusion has been registered in practice and even in theory in our movement as to what can be won through partial strikes and what constitutes partial demands. It depends, however, to a large extent upon the understanding of this question whether we can win the strikes in the present period and whether we can apply successfully the tactic of organized retreat. Partial immediate demands in heavy trustified industry cannot be the same as in small shop industry. In small shop industry we can win relatively important demands through local and small strikes. In trustified industry this is impossible. There, demands that can be won through small fights must be largely of a nature that aim to eliminate vicious abuses, arbitrariness and discrimination in the various departments and plants and in some instances, even changes in piece rates, sectional wage cuts, further speed-up in departments or plants, etc. But basic demands as to scale of wages, working hours, etc., affecting the whole industry cannot be won through partial strikes. The partial demands in large scale but untrustified industry are again of somewhat different nature. Here the greater division among the boss class can be taken advantage of in putting forward more important demands, although not of such a basic nature as in the small shop industry. Our experiences which are based largely on small shop industry and on untrustified large scale plant industry (as, for instance, textile), cannot be mechanically applied to trustified industry like steel, without making some of the most serious blunders in the preparation of the strike and in the conduct of it.

STRUGGLE AGAINST UNEMPLOYMENT

This question also presents itself now with somewhat different aspects. Until now, that is, from the time of the outbreak of the crisis, till some time ago the employed workers did not stir very much. The reduction in their wages took place in the form of reduction in the number of days employed, in sweating them more for the same pay, in isolated wage cuts, etc. But now we see already even from the few weeks since the wage cutting campaign is in effect the brewings of mass resistance and numerous strikes against wage cuts already going on. This registers the fact that all the maneuverings of the bosses in the past against the standard of living of the workers have reduced the conditions of the employed to such a point that they will not stand against further reduction without a fight, but the question as to what attitude the unemployed who are starved out more than ever will take in these strike is yet to be seen and depends to a large extent upon more

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effective struggle on our part on this question. There is no doubt that the bourgeoisie through the relief machinery that is being created will try to bring direct pressure upon the unemployed to break the strikes, playing upon division between the employed and unemployed and utilizing the A. F. of L. as the lever to use these starved masses in order to break strikes on a large scale.

There is great danger in the fact that the bourgeoisie through the tremendous demagogy conducted in the press for the past few months on the question of charity relief has really created big illusions among the masses, and this in spite of the fact that even if we assume that the amount spent for charity relief this winter be double the amount spent last winter, the part that each unemployed worker would receive would not be more than $30 a year—a very insignificant economic basis for the gigantic demagogy the bourgeoisie is making of this question, the purpose of which is to put a damper upon the further development of militancy on the part of the unemployed.

All in all however, due to the unorganized condition of the masses, the bourgeoisie has been able to create an impression that it is preparing for something serious to relieve the unemployed, and by that means it is trying to demoralize the independent struggle of the unemployed and take the initiative in its own hands, in order to utilize the unemployed in its efforts to enforce the wage cuts.

What have been our shortcomings on this question? Our shortcomings have been concentration almost exclusively upon propaganda and demonstrations designed to get basic relief from the state in the form of social insurance with no linking up with concrete immediate struggle against the lay-offs—when millions were laid off—and for organization of struggle to obtain immediate relief. The result is that very many of the unemployed see in our program for insurance something worth while to fight for but not something to benefit from right now. That is, we have not been able to successfully link our struggle for unemployment insurance with struggle and organization for concrete immediate relief and struggle against the lay-offs. If we do not strain every bit of our ability and strength to overcome these shortcomings in the shortest possible time there is the danger that the bourgeoisie directly or through their A. F. of L. lieutenants will be able to utilize the unemployed for its own ends. We have through demonstrations and propaganda activities already forced the bourgeoisie to take the question of relief much more seriously, but we have left the organization of direct relief entirely to the bourgeoisie itself. We can by making a turn on this question oblige the bourgeois to give much more than

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they are contemplating now, but we should also undertake to organize distribution of relief ourselves directly, through the unemployed councils and the Workers International Relief. There is no reason why through organized pressure we should not be able to collect the major part of this relief from the bourgeoisie itself, from the neighborhood stores, from the bosses in industry, from practical steps to prevent evictions and lay-offs, from pressure against the swollen treasuries of the A. F. of L. bureaucracy, by the introduction of the rotation system on jobs in trades where the highly paid labor aristocracy predominates, and where we usually have a few thousand having jobs of 60 to 80 dollars a week while double that number, members of the union in the same trade are starving to death. The question of reducing the salaries of the A. F. of L. bureaucrats, of exempting the unemployed from dues payments and assessments, and utilizing those funds for the members mostly in need of it—all these methods of obtaining immediate direct relief, and a movement organized around it by us, will make it possible to maintain thousands of the more militant workers around us in militant mood and as an organized army to struggle for the more basic points of our program. It will also give the big masses of unemployed that do not want to be used as strike breakers an alternative between stark starvation and scabbing by seeing that they can receive relief through the unemployed council organization and W.I.R.

The further intensification of our struggle for unemployed insurance, and this practical measures to avoid the unemployed being used as scabs to break the strikes against wage cuts is possible now only by concentrating all efforts upon getting immediate relief for the unemployed, not only through more pressure upon bourgeois relief agencies but *by organizing relief ourselves along the lines outlined.* Our own trade union organization in particular should be able to organize struggles against lay-offs at the point of production, by organizing demonstrations in front of the places that lay off workers and drawing all workers in the plant in solidarity movements against it, and wherever we cannot succeed in preventing the lay-offs at least obtain winter relief, that is, a certain lump sum paid by the boss to the laid-off worker, etc. Only in this manner will we be able to affect practically the necessary solidarity between the employed and unemployed workers in the coming struggle against the wage cutting drive of the exploiters and the capitalist state.

STRUGGLE AGAINST SOCIAL FASCISTS

With the announcement of the brazen wage cutting campaign the bourgeoisie definitely abandons the theory of high wages which

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was the main prop of class collaboration and the hold of the labor fakers upon the masses. This means that the maneuvering base of the bourgeoisie and their labor lieutenants among the working class narrows down. The bourgeoisie does not hold forth any more promises of concessions but on the contrary, brazenly announces its determination to slash down ruthlessly the workers' standard of living. The labor fakers now have only one means of keeping hold ideologically of the masses, and that is by the most audacious "left" demagogy. Outside of that they have nothing to give and nothing to offer. This is already noticeable in the demagogy of many of the labor fakers on social insurance and relief, in the increasing use of the Gitlows and Mustes, in the endorsement of strikes that break out spontaneously or are organized and led by us so that they can break these strikes from within, etc.

The narrowing of the maneuvering base of the labor lieutenants of the bourgeoisie among the working class means at the same time a broadening of our base. The organizational crystallization of these broad possibilities opening up before us is possible by the careful application of *united front policy from below*. We had already some interesting experiences on this question, and although this experience was in a small shop industry, that is, the furriers, we defeated completely the fakers who tried to confuse the workers with "unity" maneuvers from the top. What was the main approach in this case? The main approach was that we proposed to unite the workers irrespective of to what union they belong, or to no union at all, on the question of immediate struggle against the boss for improvements in pay, etc., while the fakers, following the Lovestoneite policy, made "unity" from the top on the basis of *dues*, that is, as to where the workers should pay dues, in the A. F. of L. or in our union. The workers seeing that we were the only ones really sincere in uniting them against the boss quickly understood these sham maneuvers of the fakers and came over in mass accepting our leadership. We went to the so-called "unity" conferences called by the "left" fig leaves of the fakers, proposing openly this program previously discussed in mass meetings of the workers. The fakers who could not afford to antagonize their chief upholders, the bosses, could not afford to accept this program. Thus the workers, seeing quickly by themselves who honestly fights for their interest, who wants to unite them, *and who only maneuvers* with "unity" in order to keep them divided, were able to orientate themselves quickly.

However, although the economic base for the maneuvering of the labor fakers has considerably narrowed down with the advent of the open wage cutting campaign, still we must be on our guard

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not to under-estimate the strength of the fakers as a strike-breaking instrument in the hands of the bosses. We must keep in mind that the American working class, in spite of all the militant brewings of mass resistance and radicalization that manifests themselves more and more every day is politically tremendously backward. Its tradition is mainly in struggles along economic lines. Tremendous masses of them have never participated in any kind of direct struggle against the exploiters. They are hard pressed by the crisis and can therefore be taken in demoralized and confused by the "left" demagogy and tactics used by the fakers in strike situations, especially when they use types like Gitlow as camouflage for their strike breaking methods. However, the very interference of the A. F. of L. fakers in this manner gives us, if properly utilized, an opportunity to conduct in a practical manner intense political education, which in this case we can make through practical class struggle maneuvers as well as through the accompanying theoretical education when masses are involved in the struggle for bread and are deeply interested and thus make them really understand the basic differences between our class struggle policy and their class collaboration maneuvers, make them understand what the Communist Party and the T.U.U.L. stands for, whom it represents, etc., and by this strengthen considerably the influence of the Party and the recruitment of new members into its ranks and into the revolutionary unions.

INTO THE CAMP OF THE ENEMY

The pressure of the crisis and of the wage-cutting campaign upon the unions based on the labor aristocracy creates for us a broad base for the extension of our activities inside of the A. F. of L. itself, right in the heart of the social fascist camp. Upon this extension of activities depends to a large extent our effectiveness crippling the strike breaking activities of the A. F. of L. fakers. There is already noticeable strong symptoms of disintegration, numerous clique formations inside of the A. F. of L. unions, even splits led by these cliques. The problem how to organize the demoralization that is going on inside the A. F. of L., bring the workers over to us in an organized manner through the inter-linking of correct united front tactics inside with our united front tactics among the unorganized, bringing them over not only under our ideological but the most important, under our organizational control, these are the problems we are faced with in the further development of our united front policy. The *correct and widespread application of the united front policy in approaching the unorganized in linking them up with the organized inside and outside of the A. F. of L. in*

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bringing them over under our organizational control through the united front tactic, is the key for our organizational approach to these masses the building up of strong industrial unions affiliated to the T.U.U.L. and the practical and ideological defeat of the fascists and social fascists in the labor movement. Opportunist least-resistance methods and "left" sectarianism in the application of the united front policy must be combatted more than ever.

The question how to organize youth in industry employed and unemployed becomes also more important with the deepening of the crisis. We have already seen in many of the defensive strikes that have developed in the last few months that the young workers —even where they respond militantly in the first dash of struggle—easily fall victims to bourgeois and social-fascist demagogy. This is due to the fact that all the bourgeois bunk pumped into their young heads is still very fresh in their minds. They have not become malicious through numerous disappointments, experienced by themselves in life, as the older workers have, and while very often they respond to militant tactics more readily they do not stay solid. The question how to approach this type of workers, how to handle them, the type of propaganda to use, how to organize them, assumes greater importance than ever. The backwardness of the Y.C.L. in this respect cannot be tolerated any longer. If things continue as they are, the youth element will not only be used increasingly as fascist shock troops by the bourgeoisie but will become an obstacle to the development of even defensive struggles. The same thing in a different sense can be said about women who are new-comers to industry, and about Negroes. The question of working our special demands, the question of those organizations who have specialized experiences as to how to handle these categories of workers, coming immediately into strike situations, gathering their fresh experiences, formulating special demands, and learning how to work more and more effectively in attracting these categories of workers to the class struggle becomes more and more important in the proportion that we are confronted with struggles in big plants where enormous masses of these workers are employed.

THE PARTY

In the proportion that broader and broader sections of the workers, particularly of large scale industry become involved in the struggle against wage-cuts and unemployment, it becomes necessary to politicalize these elementary struggles. The fact, however, is that although we speak very much about strikes assuming a political character in the third period, in practice when we enter into a strike situation we look upon it pretty much in the old trade-unionist

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fashion. Our Party transforms itself into a *strike Party* and the politics we leave pretty much to everybody else. Our strategy takes in all kinds of maneuvers in the industry itself but not outside of it. The question of mobilizing the workers not directly involved in the strike and the people exploited by big capital, petty bourgeoisie, etc., is not even taken into consideration in practice. We do not develop political struggle under the leadership and initiative of the Party, around the numerous political issues that always accompany and arise out of the strike situation. The Party as a Party is liquidated and dissolved in the strike machinery. It is a curious fact that after we lead a big strike movement in this fashion we are left with a Party that is not any stronger than before the strike, that we do not absorb into the Party the militant elements that step forward during the strike. The Party extends its influence as a strike Party but, as a political leading force in the class struggle, it remains at the same spot as before.

This situation is largely due to the fact that our own comrades do not see any usefulness in the participation of the Party as such, *as a political force,* in the immediate strike struggle, and because of that they retreat before the bourgeoisified ideology of the masses. They themselves look upon the Party with sectarian eyes as a good instrument to organize the struggle for the dictatorship of the proletariat, but not as a class Party of the working class which can be a powerful instrument in the organization of immediate political struggles in support of the strike. With this kind of an outlook, they are incapable, of course, to politicalize the struggle and attract into the Party the fresh elements out of the ranks of the workers that come forward during the strike. The fact that the backbone of the movement, *the Party,* does not become strengthened in these struggles results usually in the liquidation of the trade unions developed as a result of the struggle. Those unions without the strong backbone of the Party cannot resist the terrific pressure of monopoly capital during the crisis, thus leaving us organizationally usually way behind of the development of the struggle itself, making it impossible in future struggles to plan ahead because of failure to develop sufficient organization upon which to base the future counter-offensive of the working class. If this situation is not radically remedied we will ride into a defeat all along the line and we will have the intolerable situation of having led big struggles during the crisis with enormous masses stirring for struggle, possibilities of tremendously extending these struggles, but with the Party and the T.U.U.L. remaining behind organizationally with practically the same number of members and the revolutionary trade unions very weak. The question of making a tremendous effort in the coming membership recruiting campaign in at least

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doubling and trebling the number of Party members, of getting at least 100,000 in the T.U.U.L., making the turn in this recruiting campaign, in the method of bringing the Party forward in the immediate struggles as a political force, so that later on we will learn more how to draw fresh elements into the Party in our everyday activities — is the outstanding question in building up the organizational strength of the Party and the revolutionary trade unions.

CONCLUSION

The desperation of the masses under the pressure of the crisis will in the United States too bring forward more and more the development of fascist methods by the bourgeoisie and the blossoming forth of large scale fascist demagogy. The desperate masses will here too more and more strike for an immediate remedy for their misery, and this immediate remedy they will seek through immediate and rapid changes which the fascist demagogues will promise them camouflaged with "left" phrases. The weaker the Party organizationally, the more backward in its ability to unite the teaming masses provoked into action by starvation, the more danger there is for them succumbing to fascist demagogy. The deepening of the crisis makes this danger so much greater. To rapidly reorientate our work on the basis of the new possibilities, to intensify and extend the politicalization of our own units so that they can become leaders in the immediate political struggles around the big movements that will develop against the wage-cuts and unemployment, to struggle ruthlessly against all "left" sectarian tendencies, opportunist vacillations, against tendencies to look upon the looming defensive struggles as a retreat, as a part and parcel of really effecting the reorientation towards the development of a mass Party and of the Party becoming not only effective propagandist but organizer of the masses—in these tasks we are disgustingly behind in comparison with the objective situation. This is the significance to us of the new low level reached by the world economic crisis and from which flows the imperative necessity of quickening the tempo of application of the decisions of the Thirteenth Plenum of the Central Committee.

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Building the Revolutionary Trade Union Movement

The Factory Branches of the Revolutionary Trade Unions and Their Relations to the Shop Nuclei of the Communist Party

By S. WILLNER

THE last plenum of the T.U.U.L. was fully justified in stating that in spite of big deficiencies and weaknesses in its work, the revolutionary trade union movement in the U. S. A. is marching forward. For the first time since its existence, the T.U.U.L. made serious attempts during the last few months, to penetrate the basic industries. It successfully utilized the wage-cutting offensive of the employers for the mobilization of the miners, steel workers and textile workers, organized and led strike struggles against wage-cuts and won thousands of new members for the revolutionary trade unions in these industries.

Hence the activity of the T.U.U.L. during the last few months very clearly demonstrated two things:

It revealed the tremendous possibilities of mobilizing and organizing the workers for mass strikes against wage cuts and for the building up of revolutionary trade unions in the basic industries. It demonstrated at the same time that these possibilities can be utilized only through constant, purposeful building up of the revolutionary trade unions and T.U.U.L. groups, through steadily strengthening them numerically, politically and organizationally, and through improving their methods of work.

These two general lessons point out the path for the further work of the T.U.U.L. and its affiliated organizations. They sharply bring forth the problem: where and how must the revolutionary trade unions and T.U.U.L. groups be organized and how must they work?

The plenum of the T.U.U.L. answered these questions in general. The building up of the revolutionary trade union movement on the basis of the factories of the basic industry was the central point of the plenum discussions. It was decided to instruct all affiliated organizations and leagues to work out concrete guiding lines for the building up of the organization on a factory basis and to change their constitutions along these lines at the first opportunity.

Before the plenum, comrade Ralph Simons already took a correct position on these problems in his series of articles "*For a*

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Decisive Turn in Our Revolutionary Trade Union Movement." He said:

> "The basic organization of the revolutionary trade union movement is the factory branch which must organize and lead the workers' struggle in the shop against bad working conditions, against wage cuts, against speed-up, against unsanitary conditions, etc. The most important method for the factory branch for carrying through this work is a real united front policy. The united front policy unites the workers, develops their initiative and activity, builds the fighting organs elected by all workers of the shop, such as grievance committee, factory committee, etc., conducts the struggle against the social-fascist and reformist enemies of the workers in the shop, in the A. F. of L. unions, and strengthens the ranks of the factory branch. A prerequisite for carrying through this line is a strong, purposeful leadership of the factory branch, which distributes the work among its members (formation of special departments, such as org., agit-prop, finance, etc.), and which through the building up of a delegate system, secures contact with the union members in all departments of the factory and thus with all the workers in the factory."

We underline every word that comrade Simons wrote in his practical manner about these questions. In this article we want to explain the problem still further, especially with regard to the relation between the union or league, factory branch and the shop nucleus of the Communist Party.

The readiness of the working masses for struggle, especially in the basic industries, the degree of development of the revolutionary trade unions (National Miners Union, Steel Workers Union, Marine Workers Union, Textile Workers Union, etc.) imperatively brings forth the problem of the organizational form of the revolutionary trade unions and their methods of work. There are such questions as: how to penetrate into the factories? How must the factory branch of the revolutionary trade union be organized? How must the factory group work in the shop? What are its relations to the shop nucleus of the C. P.? These questions have long ago become mass questions. Without their solution among the masses, with the masses and by the masses, under leadership of the T.U.U.L. it is impossible to systematically prepare for and lead struggles against wage-cuts, for unemployment relief, and it is impossible to unite the employed and unemployed for joint action; it is impossible to break the employers' terror; it is impossible to defeat the social-fascist and reformist enemies of the working masses and to develop in the reactionary unions, the revolutionary work which is absolutely necessary for this purpose. Without dealing with and solving these questions as mass questions it is impossible to build up strong revolutionary mass trade unions and T.U.U.L. groups.

Let us therefore deal with the first question:

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HOW CAN THE REVOLUTIONARY TRADE UNION OR LEAGUE PENETRATE THE FACTORIES OF BIG INDUSTRY UNDER CONDITIONS DESCRIBED ABOVE?

The leadership of the revolutionary Trade Union Unity League which undertakes the task of mobilizing the workers in the basic industries for struggles, must first of all accurately know the living and working conditions of these workers. The most important facts which influence the living conditions of these workers at present are the tremendous unemployment and part-time work. To this was added during the last few months the brutal direct wage-cutting offensive of the employers. In the building trades, in the textile industry, in mining and in the steel industry, a direct wage-cut is already carried through. In the automobile industry, on the railroads it is being prepared. Under these circumstances, the best method of preparing strike struggles and of having the revolutionary union penetrate the factories is the mobilization of the employed and unemployed and part-time workers for joint struggle for immediate relief and unemployment insurance. In coal mining, in the steel industry, in the chemical industry, in the automobile industry, among the railroad workers, the organization of such activity can be begun at once. (In mining and in the steel industry this tactic has already been successfully put into practice.)

Such activity links the struggles of the unemployed with the struggle of the employed. (We know that the biggest deficiency of the movement, for instance in New York, Detroit and Chicago, is the isolation of the unemployed from the employed.) Such united front activity links the struggles of the unemployed with the struggles of the employed. It leads to the mobilization and activization of the workers, to monster meetings and mass demonstrations. Through it the first united front organs for leading the movement are created, the joint committees of the unemployed and part-time workers. Such activity helps to break the employers' terror in the company towns, and develops fights inside of the A. F. of L. unions, etc. It creates the basis for putting forward the workers' demands to the employers and for the election of grievance committees of action in the shops, mills, mining, etc. Through it the basis can be laid for the building of factory and unemployed branches of the revolutionary trade union or league.

We purposely say that through such activity the basis *can* be laid for the building of strong factory and unemployed branches in the revolutionary trade union or league. For the prerequisite for this is that every opportunity be utilized by the revolutionary trade union or league for winning the workers as members of the union

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and for the systematic organization of the factory and unemployed branches. This necessitates at the same time the systematic utilization of every personal contact with the workers in the factory, especially through the auxiliary mass organizations, language organizations, etc.

From this develops the next question:

HOW MUST A FACTORY BRANCH OF A REVOLUTIONARY TRADE UNION OR LEAGUE BE ORGANIZED?

With the winning of new members for the revolutionary trade union or league, two tasks must be carried out at the same time: *one of them* is to get all new members acquainted with the policies and organizational forms and tactics of the revolutionary union or league. Divide them up from the very beginning in accordance with the organizational principles of the union and organize them into definite groups, to activize them and to give them definite tasks to fulfill.

This makes necessary the carrying out of a number of apparently incidental, but extremely important measures, which are still neglected in an irresponsible manner by the functionaries of the unions.

When a new member is taken in, a record must be made in addition to his exact address, of the factory and the department in which he works. The first practical tasks which can be given to the new member, and which he has to carry out, are to win new members in his department, so that they can be organized into a department branch of the union and elect a delegate. The next tasks of the new members are: the distribution of leaflets, personal agitation among the workers, assuming the function of delegate or a member of the department branch leadership, or as member of a committee elected by it (org. comm., agitprop comm., cultural activities comm., etc.).

If the revolutionary trade union or league educates its members from the very beginning for the fulfillment of such tasks, it opens up the way into the factories and into every factory department Then it systematically works on the building up of the organization inside the factory. Then it develops a broad staff of factory functionaries, who link up the trade union with the masses of workers, and increase its influence and its ability for action.

The *other task* is to select the best among the members in order to systematically develop them into conscious leaders of the factory branch, so that with the growth of the factory branch, its leadership, its political and organizational work and its tactic also develop. This can be achieved if the leadership of the respective revolutionary union or league knows how to systematically instruct the workers for

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leadership by the factory branch and to support them in their difficult work; if it knows how to acquaint these workers with the national and international experiences of the past in revolutionary trade union work, as well as with its principles, and helps them to apply them in practice. It is the duty of every trade union leadership to carry through this work with the utmost patience and energy, for only then is it possible to really organize the factory branch of the trade union within the shortest possible time and to make it function. Through such activity a large number of responsible factory functionaries are developed, who are capable of organizing the work of the factory branch, of leading it politically and organizationally and of controlling it.

This raises the next question:

WHICH METHODS OF WORK MUST THE FACTORY BRANCH USE IN ORDER TO BE SUCCESSFUL IN ITS WORK?

A union factory branch can only function if a strong, active leadership is at its head. The most important task of this leadership is to carry through the directives of the higher trade union and league committees, to lead the day to day work of the factory branches, and, especially, to establish through the work of the union or league, the united front of the workers of the factory for the united struggle and to lead the struggles of the workers in the factory through the fighting organs elected by the masses. This demands the active daily championing of the workers' interests through the union or league. This demands a constant sharp struggle against all reformist and social-fascist tendencies and their agents in the factory and in their organizations.

Thus there is necessary:

1. A constant systematic agitation and propaganda. The leadership of the factory branch, must, by utilizing the events in the factory and demands of the workers, issue written propaganda material and distribute it through the members of the revolutionary union (factory papers, leaflets, stickers, etc.). The leadership of the factory branch must systematically train the functionaries for effective propaganda by word of mouth and provide them with the necessary factual material.

The propaganda of the factory branch must be adapted to the social composition of the workers in the factory (women, youth, Negro workers, foreign-born, skilled, unskilled workers, etc.), in order to be really effective. As far as necessary, the factory branch must issue special propaganda material for these groups of workers.

It must be based on the fight against reformists and social-fascists, and support a real united front tactic to destroy their influence.

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2. All-embracing organizational work. The leadership of the factory branch or league must mobilize the workers of the factory through the work of the union, so that they deal with their situation in mass meetings, draw up their demands and elect the organs to present them, or to lead them in the struggle for these demands. These organs of struggle based on the united front of the workers in the factory, are the grievance committees, committees of action, strike committees, etc. Where the factory branch has succeeded in establishing organs against the employer, that is, where the workers of the factory have through struggle under the leadership of the factory branch won the right for trade union activity in the factory, it will be possible to establish such permanent committees as mine, factory or mill committees.

It is therefore one of the most important goals of the factory branches to force from the employers the right for trade union activity in the shop. Therefore, it must, no matter what sacrifices it entails, utilize every opportunity to carry through measures obvious to the workers, utilize every sentiment of the workers to hold meetings and demonstrations and when the situation requires it, to call strikes. Without courage and resolution on the part of the leading cadres in the struggles, no successes can be achieved. Without sacrifice, no revolutionary trade union can be built up. When the workers in the factory are activized and ready for struggle, under the leadership of their own organs of struggle, based on and supported by the factory branch of the union or league we have the best safeguard for the work and existence of the branch.

This necessitates furthermore the adaptation of the organizational structure of the factory branch of the meetings of its leadership, of the delegates and members, to the concrete conditions in the factory. The organizational structure of the factory branch must correspond to the structure of the factory. In each factory department a section of the factory branch must be built up, which is connected with the leadership through elected delegates. As a rule one delegate should be elected for every ten members. It is the task of the delegates to inform the members about the decisions made by the leadership, to organize them for the work and provide them with the necessary material for leaflets, etc., to collect the membership dues and account for them with the financial secretary in charge.

The meeting of the leadership of the factory branch of a large factory must take place regularly, if it really wants to carry on its work. The delegates must be called together whenever necessary, also the members through the delegates. However, a monthly meeting of the delegates must be held, in which the leadership

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of the factory branch gives its report and the further work is decided upon. Also every delegate must call a monthly meeting of the members under his leadership, in order to transmit to them the report of the leadership of the factory branch and to have them take action on it. General membership meetings of all members of the factory branch should as a rule only take place when this can be done without endangering the functionaries and the members themselves.

If the meetings of the factory branch are organized in this manner, the question of the meeting place can be solved without great difficulty. For holding such small meetings any worker's flat, any garage, any little woods, etc., is sufficient.

Every leadership of a factory branch must therefore distribute its work accordingly; the most important departments which must be formed, are: org., agitprop, finance, youth, etc. It furthermore has the duty of providing the necessary technical apparatus for the carrying out of the work (mimeograph, cards for a membership card record, accounting books, etc.). This material, especially the membership card record, must be kept in such a way that it is impossible for the bosses and their agents, even with the sharpest terror, to get hold of this material and that the factory branch is always ready for action.

From what has been said so far, we realize the tremendous importance of the factory branch as the basic organization of a revolutionary union. It can be stated with the utmost confidence that if strong mine branches of the National Miners Union had existed before the strike, in the Pennsylvania coal fields, or if the building up of such mine branches had been undertaken during the strike preparations the strike of the miners would have been much more consolidated and would have developed much more force. If on October 1, strong mill branches of a revolutionary steel workers' union had existed in the steel works of the U. S. A., the workers would have answered the 10 per cent wage cuts with strikes in many steel mills.

We now come to the last question:

WHAT ARE THE RELATIONS BETWEEN THE FACTORY BRANCH OF THE REVOLUTIONARY TRADE UNION AND THE SHOP NUCLEUS OF THE PARTY?

The answering of this question is important, for the relations between the two organizations have become unclear due to a certain tendency in the Party. This tendency opposes the organization of factory branches of the revolutionary trade union or league and

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uses the following arguments which we want to answer at this time.

1. The building up of the union or league factory branches means a duplication of the Party, the basic organization of which is the shop nucleus. The development of the Party is hampered by the attempt to build up a factory branch.

In our opinion this is wrong. The building up of a functioning factory branch of the union is the most important task the Party nucleus has. In the course of this work the nucleus extends and strengthens its influence among the workers of the factory and develops a better and broader basis for its mass work.

2. The organizational principles and methods of work described above, if used by the T. U. U. L. and its affiliated trade unions make the building of mass trade unions impossible.

In our opinion this is also wrong. The use of the organizational principles and methods of work described above, if developed, furthered, and continuously controlled by the Party, is the only way that the revolutionary trade unions and leagues can be built on a factory basis.

3. The factory is the basis only for the building up of the Party. Only the Party members can be expected to learn the use of illegal methods of work. Those structures developing as factory branches of the unions can only be prejudicial to the possibilities of work of the Party nucleus and endanger the safety of the Party members in the factory. We can expect only little activity and participation in the daily work of the union, from the members of a union factory branch.

This is also wrong. A strong factory branch of a revolutionary union links up the Party organizationally with the masses of workers in the factory, strengthens its capability for action, in mobilizing these masses and is therefore its best safeguard and its best recruiting ground for strengthening its ranks. It is the task of the Party to draw new masses of workers into the daily work through the union and league factory branches.

Concrete tasks must be put to the members of the factory branch, which must be carried out under the control of the factory branch leadership. Only in this manner is it possible to promote real activity and a feeling of responsibility towards the organization among the members. Only in this manner can the problem of new cadres of functionaries be solved in practice.

4. The basic organization of the Party is the shop nucleus which elects its own leading committee and makes decisions on the work in the factory. On the other hand, the basic organization of the union is the territorial local organization. The members of the

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revolutionary trade union in the factory are directly affiliated with the respective local organization on a territorial basis. They have no leadership of their own in the factory, and therefore they cannot directly decide on questions concerning the factory.

This is also wrong. The building of the basic organization of a revolutionary trade union or league on a territorial basis, prevents its growth, isolates it from the masses in the factory and hampers its ability for action in the factories and in the old unions. Furthermore, it destroys the normal relations between revolutionary trade union or league and Party and also narrows down the possibilities of work of the latter.

The following will prove this.

The tendency described above springs from a too narrow point of view with regard to the question: how is it possible, under present conditions, to build up the Communist Party in the factories of the basic industries? What are the tasks of the Party in the factory? It furthermore springs from an underestimation of the creative forces of the working masses, which is very prevalent in the Party.

In the majority of the factories which the Party has now undertaken to conquer, there exists neither a Party organization, nor a revolutionary trade union or league branch. The Party is forced to start with making the first contacts, to build up the Party nucleus and the factory branch of the trade union or league in the course of mobilizing activity among the mass of workers in the factory. It is forced to develop and train the leadership of these organizations. To fulfill all these tasks at the same time is certainly a very difficult problem. But it can and must be solved. The prerequisite is that the higher Party committee approach this work with great political understanding and activity, with a correct application of the united front tactic, with abundant confidence in the creative powers of the workers, with greatest conscientiousness in carrying through the organizational work, and with the utmost patience.

The link in the chain which it must grasp, in order to come in contact with the workers in the factory is—as the last Plenum of the Central Committee again correctly emphasized—the daily needs of the workers. The mobilization of the workers in the shop or of sections of these workers against the daily attacks of the bosses, against the general offensive of the bosses on the wages, etc., are the road to the final winning over of the workers in the shop. It is based on the permanent fight for the unemployed and part-time workers for relief and insurance.

For the carrying through of these tasks, the Party must mobilize all its forces, especially those in the mass organizations

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under its influence. When, however, the Party raises these questions among the working masses in the factory, it must at the same time most sharply emphasize the necessity of trade union organization of the masses and begin with the necessary steps to build up the union or league. By building the revolutionary unions, the workers are creating their instrument for organizing and leading their struggles against the daily grievances, for their immediate demands. Under the strong purposeful leadership of the Party, the working masses will build the revolutionary union and league. The necessity for this springs from the continuous worsening of their conditions. Their understanding for the required organizational forms is furthered by the tremendous expansion and the complicated structure of the modern capitalist enterprises. The understanding for the required methods of work is promoted by the workers' own experience: "If I am irresponsible and careless in trade union work, I lose my job and harm the cause instead of helping it."

But this is not enough. In order to strengthen and spread the factory branches of the revolutionary trade union or league, and make them function smoothly, it is necessary to politicalize the membership and to continuously raise the political level of the workers in the factory, particularly for the fight against the reformist and social-fascist agents of the bosses. The work of politicalization, which means drawing the workers in the factory into the class struggle front, can only be done by workers with political training development, workers with a revolutionary class consciousness. These workers are the kernel for the shop nucleus of the Party.

It is from this point of view that the Party must approach the organization of the shop nucleus and activize all Party members, especially those in mass organizations and those active in trade unions. *The Party must take the initiative in building the union and league factory branches. It must win the best and most active workers for the Party, and organize them as a shop nucleus of the Party. It must train them specially and promote their development so that they become capable propagandists and organizers. By its general propaganda it must raise the political level of the masses, give them direction and goal for their struggle, develop the necessary fighting and organizational methods, and in this way, give practical leadership to the whole movement in the factory through the shop nucleus.* There is now only one more question to be answered:

HOW MUST THE PARTY SHOP NUCLEUS BE ORGANIZED AND HOW MUST ITS WORK BE DIVIDED?

This question must be answered in order to prove how senseless the assertion is that the building up of strong, thoroughly

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organized union factory branches leads to a duplication of the Party in the shop.

The structure of the Party shop nucleus must correspond to the structure of the factory. Therefore, in general its outward organizational form will correspond to the union or league factory branch. The Party shop nucleus is the basic organization of the Party, whose task it is to decide upon the tactics and to lead the whole political and organizational work for mobilizing, politicalizing and organizing the workers in the factory. In order to fulfill these tasks, it conducts its own independent political campaigns (as for instance the anti-war campaign, election campaign, campaign against the oppression of the Negro and foreign-born workers, campaign against class justice, Scottsboro campaign, campaign for the defense of the Soviet Union, etc.). It must take the initiative in the organization of the unorganized, for the systematic struggle against the reactionary trade unions in the shop, and for the mobilization of the working masses for the struggle for their immediate demands. It issues propaganda material for all these questions and supplements it with the propaganda of the union or league factory branch.

Where a union or league factory branch has been built, the members of the Party shop nucleus work in it as a fraction. The Party shop nucleus leads in this case, the workers' struggle for the granting of their immediate demands through the work of its members in the union factory branch and in the united front organs elected by the workers (grievance committees, committees of action, strike committees, etc.). The Party uses this fraction work of its members inside the union or league factory branch for the intensification of its political propaganda and for the strengthening of its own ranks. In this manner it prevents the penetration of reformist tendencies into the revolutionary trade union, destroys the destructive influence of the American Federation of Labor and of the Muste fakers in the factory, and tries to raise the whole political level of the organization and of the workers in the factory.

This method of work of the Party corresponds entirely to the directions of the Communist International and leads, if employed correctly and energetically, to the strengthening of the whole revolutionary movement.

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Resolution of the Prague Conference on the Question of Unemployment

EDITORIAL NOTE: *The following resolution was passed at the International Conference on Unemployment held in Prague during the month of August. The resolution should be studied by every revolutionary worker in order to be able to give the greatest assistance to the building up of a politically clear and firmly organized mass unemployed movement.*

WHILST in the Soviet Union unemployment has been completely liquidated by the dictatorship of the proletariat, and all the toilers are working on the victorious construction of Socialism, the ever-deepening crisis of capitalist economy is enormously swelling the huge armies of unemployed, thereby proving that the capitalist system is no longer able to give work and bread to the broad masses of toilers. The promises of the capitalists and of the social fascists regarding a decline of unemployment in summer have proved to be a fraud. The insignificant temporary seasonal revival in some branches (agriculture building trade) has been made up by new dismissals in other industrial branches, before all in the heavy industry. Hundreds of thousands of young workers cannot find any work whatever. The financial crisis which has set in in a number of countries, seriously aggravated the economic crisis. Simultaneously with a fresh huge offensive against wages, fresh dismissals are taking place and fresh millions of workers are thrown onto the streets. As a result, in the capitalist countries this winter dozens of millions of unemployed will be thrown on the streets. In addition to the millions who have become unemployed as a result of the aggravation of the economic crisis, many millions have been already unemployed for years and a great portion of them do not see any possibility of finding work again under capitalist conditions.

Simultaneously, the composition of the unemployed army is changing. The unemployed army is joined by broad sections of skilled workers, of agricultural workers and of middle class people, employees, lower officials, bankrupt artisans, and ruined small peasants. As a result of the systematic cutting down of unemployment relief also in those countries in which there exists unemployment insurance, those sections of the unemployed who do not receive

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any regular relief and are completely delivered over to starvation are coming to constitute the majority.

In all countries the bourgeoisie is conducting simultaneously with the wage cuts, a systematic attack on all forms of relief for the unemployed. Unemployment insurance is being cut down, the rates of benefit are being reduced, the period of relief is shortened, hundreds of thousands run out of benefit, whole categories of unemployed (agricultural workers, seasonal workers, domestic workers, young workers) are excluded from benefit. The bourgeoisie is trying by every means to introduce compulsory labor, particularly for young unemployed workers, in order to convert them into blackleg troops, cadres for the fascist civil-war organizations, and docile cannon fodder for the imperialist war. In all countries the terror against the unemployed is growing. To their cry for work and bread the capitalist governments reply with bullets.

In this situation the Second International and the International Federation of Trade Unions attempt to confuse the masses of the unemployed by means of "radical"-sounding phrases and to divert them from the struggle. The "Commission for Combating Unemployment" set up by these two Internationals has raised a number of programmatic demands which, allegedly, will alleviate the misery of the masses of unemployed. This commission designates as the most urgent task of the working class, also "in the period of economic crisis," the waging of the struggle against wage cuts, for an increase of wages, for the five-day week (40-hour week), for paid holidays, for raising the school age, for adequate unemployment benefit, for the control of the cartels and monopolies. In addition, the commission demands the rationalization of agriculture.

In reality, however, the representatives of the social fascist parties and of the trade unions in all capitalist countries have supported the policy of wage cuts and the worsening of unemployment relief in the interest of maintaining capitalist economy. Alongside the "radical" demands they also put forward demands which are openly directed against the workers. Thus, for instance, the slogan of the 40-hour week (five-day week) without wage compensations, or the raising the school age. The leaders of the parties and trade unions of the Second and Amsterdam Internationals have as a matter of fact everywhere where the workers fought against wage-cuts and worsening of unemployment relief, organized strike-breaking and often in their capacity as police Ministers and Presidents of bourgeois governments have been responsible for bloody masacres among the unemployed.

All these facts confront the Communist Parties and the red trade union movement in all capitalist countries with great tasks. Only the revolutionary labor movement (communists, red trade unions,

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revolutionary trade union opposition), which has set itself the aim of overthrowing the capitalist order, can consistently lead the struggle of the masses of unemployed for bread and work. In all capitalist countries the communists and the followers of the Red International of Labor Unions are the only ones who represent the interests of the workers and fight for their demands at the head of the masses. Under their leadership there arose last winter a powerful unemployment movement into which broad sections of unorganized and also reformist workers have been drawn, and by which the foundation was laid for the realization of the proletarian united front, led by elected united front organs. A commencement has also been made with linking up the struggle of the unemployed with the struggle of the factory workers by means of the support of the factory workers by the unemployed (hardly anywhere have the unemployed acted as strikebreakers; in economic fights they did picket duty, distributed leaflets at the factory gates, demonstrated together with the strikers, etc.).

In spite of this progress there is a general tendency on the part of the Communist Parties and of the red trade unions to lag behind the possibilities and requirements of the situation. The most important portion of the resolution of the Executive Bureau of the R.I.L.U. of April last, which has been confirmed by the Eleventh Plenum of the Executive Committee of the Communist International, has not been carried out: "The organization of the struggles of the unemployed and the setting up of a close fighting alliance with the factory workers who are threatened with wage cuts," has not really become "one of the central tasks of the revolutionary trade union movement." The work among the unemployed has been underestimated in practice; there has been failure to mobilize the whole of the parties and the red trade union movement for this work.

This is the reason why the unemployed movement shows great weaknesses and shortcomings. In the most important capitalist countries only a small portion of the unemployed has been brought under our influence. Even in those countries where the unemployed movement was broadly developed under our leadership (Germany and Czechoslovakia) we were unable to consolidate it organizationally, to extend it and to link it up with the struggles of the factory workers; it even declined again in the spring.

In some countries like France, Belgium, etc., our work among the unemployed is mainly of an agitational character. In all countries there is a lack of permanent, systematic daily work.

We have not taken sufficiently into consideration the particular interests of the various sections of unemployed and workers on short time, and have not sufficiently concentrated our work on those

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most impoverished sections which do not receive any unemployment benefit whatsoever.

The application of united front tactics was very faulty in most countries. In some countries (England), instead of developing a broad united font movement we confined ourselves to work in the already existing secluded unemployed organizations. In Germany and Austria the united front organs were formally placed under the leadership of the revolutionary trade union opposition, a circumstance that hampered the broad development of the united front movement. In all countries work among the unemployed members of the reactionary trade unions has been neglected. Even where we succeeded, by means of the united front movement, in exerting influence on reformist workers, we did not make use of this influence in order to penetrate further into the reformist trade unions. Almost everywhere there is a lack of systematic work in drawing in and training a broad non-party cadre of the unemployed movement. The cadres of functionaries and the auxiliary relief commissions in the unemployed committees were only set up in individual cases.

One of the greatest weaknesses of the unemployed movement is its altogether inadequate contact with the factories. Apart from a few exceptions, hardly anywhere was the struggle of the unemployed supported by the factory workers. This was one of the reasons of the receding of the unemployed movement in countries where it had swept forward, but where it was not supported by the strikes in the factories (Czechoslovakia, Germany), whilst in those countries where economic struggles developed hand in hand with the unemployed movement, the latter made a further advance also in summer (Poland).

In the coming winter the unemployed movement will be faced with the greatest tasks. The crisis will assume sharper forms; fresh millions of workers will be thrown onto the street. Everywhere the bourgeoisie will try to cast all the burdens of the crisis upon the toilers by conducting a broad offensive simultaneously against wages and against unemployment insurance and relief. The Parties and the trade union organizations must at once start to organize the broadest mass resistance, the common struggle of the unemployed and the factory workers against these designs, and to increase the movement during the winter to powerful demonstrations for putting through the demands of the unemployed and of the factory workers, culminating in every country in a National Unemployment Day.

We have to mobilize and organize the unemployed in all countries for the following important fighting demands:

1. Introduction of obligatory unemployment insurance at the

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cost of the employers and of the capitalist state. Administration of the insurance by organs elected by the workers.

2. The unemployed to receive benefit equal to full wages during the whole period of unemployment. In connection with the struggle against the starvation wages of the worst paid categories of workers, it is advisable in every country to fix minimum rates below which unemployment benefit must not be allowed to drop. Inclusion in unemployment insurance of all categories of workers hitherto excluded (young workers, agricultural and domestic workers, etc.). Obligatory insurance for all unemployed against sickness and accidents at the cost of the employers and of the capitalist state. All rights resulting from insurance against sickness, accidents and incapacity are to be retained during the whole period of unemployment.

3. Payment of full wages for workers on short time.

4. Seven-hour day and 40-hour week for all workers and six-hour day for young workers, the miners and for all workers engaged in work injurious to their health, with full wage compensation.

5. Fight against compulsory work and task work for the unemployed. State Labor Exchange run by organs elected by the workers.

In order to facilitate the mobilization of the unemployed, the workers on short time and the fully employed workers, it is necessary to elaborate and propagate draft bills for unemployment insurance at the cost of the state and of the employers, as well as for the seven-hour day. Plans for providing work are to be set up on a national and local state. In all countries concrete partial demands against the cutting down of unemployment insurance and benefit and for their restoration, or improvement are to be elaborated.

We must not, however, confine ourselves to demands on a national scale. With the participation of broad circles of the unemployed, local partial demands must be elaborated in every locality, at every Labor Exchange and the struggle conducted for their realization. The realization of such partial demands enables us to win the confidence of the unemployed for further struggles. Hence, every success in the partial struggles must be given wide publicity.

The winning of the masses of the unemployed is not only a question of putting forward the correct demands, but in the first place is a question of organizing the daily struggles of the unemployed for their daily demands. Only by systematic daily work, by a systematic fight for the daily interests of the unemployed, by successfully conducting their partial struggles, can we consolidate and extend our influence among the unemployed.

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In addition, we must attach the greatest importance to work among the most impoverished sections who do not receive any benefit and put forward special demands for them. On the other hand, particular attention must be paid to the unemployed members of the reformist trade unions with whose assistance we can penetrate into these unions.

The initiative of the unemployed has created the most manifold fighting forms. In addition to demonstrations, which constitute the most important form of the unemployed struggle, the unemployed organize mass meetings, hunger marches, mass delegations to public bodies, mass petition campaigns, linked up with the mobilization for actions, influencing town councils by mass participation in their meetings, enforcing a hearing for representatives of the unemployed at these meetings, fight against evictions, etc.

Greatest importance must be attached to those forms of struggle which link up the unemployed movement with the fight of the factory workers and the struggle for common demands: against dismissals, against capitalist rationalization, for the seven-hour day and the 40-hour week, for the re-engagement of the unemployed in the factories. Such forms of struggle are: participation of the unemployed in strikes by picketing, factory-gate demonstrations, participation in strike meetings, inclusion of representatives of the unemployed in strike committees, strikes against dismissals, at which the workers remain in the factories and refuse to leave them, whilst the unemployed demonstrate at the factory gates, joint meetings and demonstrations of the unemployed with the factory workers; organization of mass delegations of unemployed to the factory meetings and of the factory workers to the unemployed meetings, etc. It is important that the factory workers in their struggles put forward direct demands for the unemployed as their strike demands (for instance the engagement of a certain number of unemployed in the factory, as was demanded during the tramway workers' strike in Warsaw, strike of the task workers in Czechoslovakia), and also that the factory workers are mobilized for the fight to enforce certain partial demands of the unemployed.

Where the bourgeoisie attempts to shift the burden of unemployment relief onto the broad sections of the population by organizing public collections, or where it hands over the care of the unemployed to public charity, we put forward our demands for support of the unemployed at the cost of the capitalist state and of the employers.

Where there exist warm day shelters, night quarters, soup kitchens and similar institutions for the unemployed, a persistent struggle must be conducted for their management by elected organs of the unemployed.

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Collections for the most impoverished unemployed can be carried out with the assistance of the Workers International Relief and of the cooperatives, and soup kitchens established for the children of the unemployed. However, these institutions must not occupy the foremost place in the unemployed movement; we make use of them so as to mobilize the unemployed for the struggle against the capitalists and against capitalist rule.

In those countries in which many foreign workers are employed in the factories, or in countries with suppressed nationalities, we oppose all tendencies to show preference to native workers and expel foreign workers or those belonging to another nation, and we demand work and bread for all unemployed without distinction of nationality. We organize everywhere the common struggle of the foreign and native workers against deportations, as well as against all restrictions of freedom. In those countries in which the dismissed workers are forcibly sent back to their villages, we organize the fight against these measures.

In order to consolidate the unemployed movement organizationally, the communists and the followers of the R.I.L.U. take the initiative for the election of unemployed councils or committees at the Labor Exchanges, night shelters, etc. These leading organs of the unemployed must be real united front organs, elected by all the unemployed regardless of their political and trade union membership; they must work in constant contact with the broad masses of unemployed and be responsible to them. The tendency to have these unemployed councils nominated by the red trade union movement or to subject them to it, must be combated because it hampers the development of the united front movement. The communists and the followers of the trade unions secure the leadership of the unemployed movement by means of the systematic work of their fractions in the united front organs.

Where these exist firmly consolidated unemployed organizations under our leadership (England), their members must exert all their forces in order to develop a broad movement on the basis of the proletarian united front headed by unemployed councils elected by all the unemployed, both organized and unorganized and to work inside of these organs according to the R.I.L.U. resolution of April, 1931, on the unemployment question. The unemployed councils must be active in all places where the unemployed gather (Labor Exchanges, day shelters, soup kitchens, etc.). The more the army of those who do not receive any benefit at all grows, and the more difficult the organization of the unemployed at the Labor Exchanges becomes, the greater importance must be attached to the setting up of unemployed councils in the districts where the unemployed reside.

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The unemployed councils and the labor exchanges and in the residential quarters are united into local unemployed councils, which have to conduct the work in the whole locality or city district. The unemployed movement of a whole district is conducted by a district unemployed committee or council elected at a conference of the councils.

The unemployed councils must be linked up with the mass of unemployed by various auxiliary committees for organizational questions, self-defense, trade union work, press, propaganda, legal advice, feeding of the children, control of overtime, fight against evictions, women's work, etc. Only by this means will it be possible to consolidate the daily revolutionary mass work and prevent the movement from consisting of a series of campaigns. Great attention must be paid to the question of the youth commissions, which are to be set up at the unemployed councils and which have to conduct the work among the unemployed youth and to provide for a systematic training of the young active unemployed.

In those factories in which short time work has been introduced in some departments, special commissions of workers on short time are to be set up which will work in close collaboration with the unemployed committees.

In all countries unemployed papers are to be founded and their regular appearance secured. Apart from the printed papers the unemployed are to distribute special papers for a whole locality or a Labor Exchange.

It is necessary to carry out at the unemployed councils, the Labor Exchanges, and in the residential districts, a registration of all the unemployed who are under the influence of the unemployed movement. In countries with a strong movement it is advisable to connect the registration with the issue of cards to the unemployed, nevertheless the registered unemployed must not be regarded as members of a separate unemployed organization receiving preferential treatment by the unemployed councils. No regular membership dues are to be collected from the registered unemployed. The unemployed movement is financed by voluntary contributions and collections among the unemployed still in receipt of benefit, the factory workers and all sections sympathizing with the labor movement.

Broad self-defense corps are to be organized at the unemployed councils on the basis of the proletarian united front. The self-defense units consist of unemployed, regardless of their political and trade union membership or membership of an already existing proletarian fighting organization; these units are only responsible to the united front organs of the unemployed movement.

It is indispensably necessary to strengthen our work among the

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unemployed members of the reactionary trade unions in order to penetrate these unions with the assistance of those members who are under the influence of the unemployed movement led by us, and to conduct in these trade unions the struggle against social-fascist strike-breaking and treachery. For this purpose these members are to be brought together at special meetings, and special slogans must be worked out for them in addition to the general slogans (for instance against the reduction of benefit granted by their trade unions, for undiminished trade union benefit at the cost of reducing the administration expenses), and in cases where we have great influence among them to unite them into special committees at the Labor Exchanges.

At the same time broad recruiting work for the revolutionary trade union organizations must be conducted in the unemployed movement in order to win the advanced unemployed as members of the red trade unions or the Revolutionary Trade Union Opposition.

By calling to mind the resolution of the Executive Committee of the R.I.L.U. and setting up concrete tasks for every country on the basis of this resolution, the Conference calls upon the Communist Parties and the red trade union movement in all countries to proceed immediately to carry out the above-mentioned tasks, and resolves to carry out in three months an international control of the work in the various countries. Only by fully carrying out the resolution of the R.I.L.U. and the decisions for the individual countries shall we succeed in bringing under our leadership not only thousands but millions of unemployed and leading them together with the factory workers in the fight for their demands and the onslaught against the capitalist system.

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Dilettantism in Strikes

By WM. Z. FOSTER

ONE of the basic essentials for carrying on trade union work successfully is hard plugging. It is necessary that we know how to take hold of a situation with the utmost earnestness and hang on relentlessly. Hard day to day plodding, undeterred by the severest obstacles, must be a characteristic of our activities. Our revolutionary unions confront heavy tasks in the organizations of the workers in the trustified industries, and they cannot succeed unless they are enfused with this indomitable spirit and generally serious approach to their work.

Unfortunately, however, our present trade union work often does not display these firm Bolshevik qualities. There is an altogether too light approach to the struggle. Lack of preparation for strikes, underestimation of organization work, too much reliance upon mere agitation—these weaknesses we are already familiar with from many phases of our trade union work in strikes.

Another manifestation of this general weakness is a sort of dilettantism. That is, a tendency to be attracted to the struggle and to make a fight only when the struggle takes on a dramatic character. This manifests itself by tendencies to rush in where strike movements are developing, without preliminary preparations, and, what is even worse, to rush out again without follow-up work, when the strikes have come to an end. This means to see the struggle only where it takes on spectacular forms. We must know how to make our strikes dramatic. This is very essential. But it must not substitute for the brick by brick building of organization, and doing the other Jimmy Higgins work of the union.

This dilettantism was one of the obstacles that the Industrial Workers of the World had to contend with for years. During the period of its militancy, it was one case of fireworks after the other and no real organization work was done. When the strike began, always more or less spontaneously, organizers would swarm into the struggle zone, and when the strike came to a conclusion, the field was deserted. Nor could the I. W. W. overcome this tendency. It was one of the main reasons why the I. W. W. never succeeded in building an organization, even in those instances where it won strikes. It was a liquidator of the serious work necessary actually to build a union.

One does not need to search far in our trade union practice to find traces of such dilettantism. Let a few examples from the

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textile industry suffice to illustrate the point. Take the case, for instance, of the Gastonia strike. Undoubtedly, after such an heroic struggle, it should have been possible to crystallize a real organization, but this was not done. On the contrary, there was a certain moving away for new worlds to conquer. Following the New Bedford strike, similar weaknesses developed. Here we won a semi-victory, but, for want of real organization work and a tenacious hanging on to the situation, we did not translate our mass influence into substantial organization. Shortage of forces is not a sufficient excuse for such a situation.

In the Lawrence strike in February once again this tendency came to expression. This time it was even theorized. Comrades put forth the slogan, "The Struggle Is Over in Lawrence," and turned their attention to more spectacular, if not more promising, fields of class struggle. The effect of such an attitude was especially disastrous in Lawrence. It was impossible to have the National Textile Workers Union concentrate the necessary forces in the big mills in this town, where manifestly a new struggle was brewing. The result was that we built little or no organization, although the masses were disposed towards us, and when the recent great strike of 23,000 developed, it found us almost entirely unprepared, and the A. F. of L. was able to secure a powerful foothold.

The general result of such tactics is that we build no real organization. More than that, it is quite easy for us to discredit ourselves even in places where we win strikes. The workers feel that we have deserted them when a characteristic post-strike exodus of the organizers takes place.

In the mining industry the National Miners Union is now conducting a struggle against the usual tendency to demobilize our forces following the strike. It is making a real effort to build its organization in the zone where the 40,000 miners struck, and despite many weaknesses, and although the strike was lost, the N. M. U. is having some success in entrenching itself. This fight must be encouraged against the customary dilettantist flight to new fields of activity.

Again in Lawrence, the National Textile Workers Union is about to be put to the test. We shall see whether or not it has yet developed that bulldog tenacity that enables a union to build itself up in the face of humdrum and undramatic obstacles. The big strike has been broken by the treachery of the United Textile Workers. It would be easy for us now to conclude that the fight is finished and that we can move on, in the usual way, to new

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fields. But this would be a disastrous error. We must hang on in Lawrence at all costs. We must maintain a sufficient body of organizers there to develop local organization and struggle. If we do this, we will be repaid with a real organization among the Lawrence mill workers. They will not succumb to defeatism unless we desert them in the hour of defeat. This we must not do.

We must systematically cultivate in the T. U. U. L. the elements of responsibility and relentlessness, particularly in post-strike periods. The real test of our ability to organize the workers comes in just such situations. It is easy to lead struggles when the masses are all in motion, but a real union must learn how to conduct the fight in the trough between the waves of strikes. We must rise equal to the Lawrence situation with a most determined campaign of organization.

THE REVOLUTIONARY CRISIS OF 1918-21 AND THE TREACHERY OF THE REFORMISTS

The first attempts at revolutionary overthrow which sprang from the acute crisis of capitalism (1918-1921) ended in the victory and consolidation of the dictatorship of the proletariat in a number of other countries. These defeats were primarily due to the treacherous tactics of the social democratic and reformist trade union leaders, but they were also due to the fact that the majority of the working class had not yet accepted the lead of the Communists and that in a number of important countries Communist Parties had not yet been established at all. As a result of these defeats, which created the opportunity for intensifying the exploitation of the mass of the proletariat and the colonial peoples, and for severely depressing their standard of living, the bourgeoisie was able to achieve a partial stabilization of capitalist relations. (*From the Programme of the Communist International*).

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Relations of Science, Technology, and Economics Under Capitalism and in the Soviet Union

By PROF. M. RUBINSTEIN

EDITOR'S NOTE: *This article is a summary of the report presented by Professor M. Rubinstein to the Second International Congress of the History of Science and Technology, held in London from June 29th to July 3rd, 1931, on behalf of the delegation of Soviet scientists. Not being allowed to elaborate their position in the discussion the Soviet delegates submitted written reports.*

THE relations between science, technology, and economics under the conditions of capitalist society and under the socialist system that is being built in the Soviet Union, are distinctly different, and in many respects, diametrically opposite.

The capitalist system of production and social relations is antagonistic by its very nature. Along with its growth and development there goes on the development and growth of the profoundest, intrinsic contradictions that are manifested in all branches of human existence without exception. The purpose of this report is to trace the development of these contradictions in the domain of scientific and technical work and to show how these contradictions vanish and fade away under the conditions of the new system of social relations that is now being built up in the Soviet Union.

It would be useless to describe before this audience the colossal achievements of science and technology during the last century. The report refers only to the basic stages of this development, to its most important present results.

The progress of technical development and the triumph of man over the forces of nature is accelerated with each decade that passes. Substantially speaking, for modern science and technology there are no insoluble problems, and it was quite proper for the American Society of Mechanical Engineers to adopt for their 50th jubilee the slogan: "What is not, may be!"

The development of technology in the epoch of capitalism has proceeded upon the basis of great achievements and growth of the practical application of science. The place of art, of empirics, was taken by exact science, by the application of mathematics, of the

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laws of mechanics, by investigation into the chemical and physical transformations of substances, by penetrating into the essence of the organic processes of the vegetable and animal world.

Each discovery, each step forward in natural science, has opened new possibilities of industrial development, new conquests for technology. The report adduces a number of instances of modern influences of this kind, which are manifested with particular prominence in the domain of chemistry and electro-technics.

Large scale machine production, constituting the fullest and most striking embodiment of the tendencies of technical development, as Marx said, by its very nature "postulates the replacement of human power by the forces of nature, and of the empirical routine methods by conscious application of science." At the same time the most characteristic feature of all these changes is their fluctuating character, a constant state of motion, revolutionary changes in the technical basis of production, as well as in the functions of the workers and in the social combinations of the process of labor.

Yet, while the technical development was determined to the highest degree by the achievements of science, on the other hand even far more important was the reverse effect. The development of science, including such branches of scientific investigation as would seem to be the most abstract, has gone on chiefiy under the influence and requirements of technology. The correctness of this proposition may be demonstrated by thousands of examples from all branches of science.

The report adduces a series of characteristic examples of such kind of effect at the present time, when each of the maturing technological requirements of humanity lends an impetus to profound scientific analysis of natural phenomena, demanding an answer from science to a number of cardinal questions.

It is necessary also to observe that extensive scientific research in the domain of science at the present time cannot be carried on by those individual craft methods which prevailed in this respect even in the 19th century. It requires powerful laboratory equipment, intricate, expensive appliances and instruments, experiments upon a semi-factory scale, a considerable staff for systematic study of the immense literature growing up on each subject.

In the overwhelming majority of cases, it requires the collective organization of labor, the sub-division of the work, and the complex forms of cooperation in this work among specialists in various branches of science, and of various qualifications. Even when carried on by a large collective body, the treatment of many scientific-technical problems takes sometimes years, and even tens of years, calling in many cases for tens and hundreds of thousands

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of systematic experiments, tests, and observations. In other words, *scientific investigation becomes itself a sort of large scale production* organized after the type of industrial plants. And, however great the obstacles raised in this domain by the particularly lingering traditions of mediaevalism, the developments of scientific research work in the advanced capitalist countries has followed precisely this course. For instance, the powerful laboratories of the world's leading chemical and electrical trusts (I. G., General Electric, Westinghouse, etc.) have not only become centers where a number of highly important technical discoveries and inventions have been worked out, but they have also been instrumental in creating a series of new scientific theories. In those laboratories there is intense activity going on upon the study of questions which would seem to be the most abstract and theoretical.

It seems to me, it would be quite futile here to debate the point as to which came first, the fowl or the egg, science or technology.

As is always the case in life and nature, which develop in a dialectical manner, the cause becomes here the effect, and the effect, in its turn, the cause. Moreover, this very distinction becomes more and more conventional, vague, and questionable.

A number of discoveries and theories of the close of the 19th and the beginning of the 20th centuries have fully undermined, and partly overthrown the rigid system of the division of the sciences in classical science.

Einstein has overthrown the traditional notions about gravity, space, and time. The quanta of the theory has dealt the knockout blow to the old metaphysical notions about power. Radium, work of Cavendish Laboratory, etc., have turned upside down the old views as to immobile and immutable elements. The study of the laws of electro-magnetic phenomena has enabled us to subject to them the most diverse natural phenomena, having turned upside down thousands of former habitual, deep-rooted notions and theories.

The old, immutable boundaries of the sciences are being obliterated, vanishing just as has vanished the Linnaean system, as has vanished the craft specialization of artisan production.

We the witnessing the progressive development of the so-called "contiguous sciences," such as physical chemistry, bio-chemistry and bio-physics, techno-economic disciplines, etc.

We see how each new economic problem, each new requirement of technology, calls for the collective work of a number of sciences for its solution.

We see how, upon the basis of dialectical materialism, all the sciences are showing a tendency to become transformed into a single

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system of science (yet permitting of sub-division), into the single science about nature and society spoken of by Marx.

Genuine science studies all phenomena in their state of motion, in the antithesis, and in the development which eliminates the contradictions.

And in this new dialectical unity and sub-division of the sciences, technology occupies its place of equality and honor. It is not merely an "applied" science which used to be scorned by the high-priests of "pure" science and of caste exclusiveness. It is the domain in which man shows primarily his active attitude towards nature, in which he *not only explains, but also modifies the world*, at the same time modifying himself, too. While the development of technology would have been impossible without science, on the other hand, it is only technology, only industrial practice that can give the incontrovertible answer to a number of cardinal theoretical problems.

While to the priests of pure science it seems a profanation that Marx, in the debate of idealism versus materialism, has appealed to . . . alisarine, and other synthetic dyestuffs, to us, the very division of science into "pure" and "impure" seems monstrous metaphysics.

As was written by Marx in his great theses on Feuerbach, "only by practice should man demonstrate the truth, *i. e.*, the reality and force of his thinking, in his world outlook." It is from this angle of vision that we examine the interdependence of theory and practice, of science and technology, of research work and industrial development.

Approaching the subject in this manner, we at once become confronted with the fact that the development of both science and technology is taking place not in super-terrestrial space, not high up in the clouds, not in the walls of laboratories and scientific studies hermetically sealed off from the rest of the world, but in a distinct social environment, under the conditions of a distinct social system.

I. TECHNOLOGY AND THE CONTRADICTIONS OF CAPITALIST SOCIETY

The social system during the last century was capitalism. And one cannot understand anything as regards the development and the interdependence of science and technology if one tries to examine them apart from a scientific analysis of the rise and decay of the capitalist social relations, apart from the scientific analysis that is furnished by the study of Marx.

The social system for one-sixth of the world has now become Socialism. And one cannot understand anything about the future

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perspectives of their interdependence, without the study of the laws of development, of the struggle and growth of the new socialist system of social-relations.

Let us first deal with the first part.

Modern science and modern technology are the offspring of capitalism, and since the latter, by its very nature, is an antagonistic system, there is bound to be equal antagonism under capitalism in the forms of the development and interrelations of science and technology. To begin with, what are the problems of technical progress, and of the scientific development catering for this progress, under the conditions of capitalism?

The purpose and the motive power of capitalist production is the derivation of profits. Whatever the priests of pure science say about profanation, we must observe that under the conditions of capitalism, science as well as technology, whether consciously or unconsciously, serve the interests of capitalist profit.

In outlining the development of the first stages of machine production, Marx quotes a remark by John Stuart Mill to the effect that "it is doubtful whether the mechanical inventions so far made have rendered labor easier even for a single human being"; Marx replies to this:

> "Neither is this the purpose of machinery used in a capitalist manner. In common with all other methods of development in the productivity of labor, their purpose is to cheapen the price of commodities, to shorten that part of the working day which the worker uses for himself, and thus to lengthen the other part of the day which he gives away gratuitously to the capitalist. Machines are a means for the production of surplus value." *

In this remark by Karl Marx is the whole crux of the question. Capitalism, in developing machine production, pursues the purpose not of developing the forces of production, but of increasing the profits. Therefore, capitalism introduces a new machine only when the difference between the price of this machine and the cost of labor-power that it replaces is sufficiently large to secure an average profit and successful competition in the market. Already at the commencement of capitalist development we find a number of cases when inventions or improvements in machinery were entirely held in abeyance or they were utilized not in the country where they were originated, because labor in that country happened to be so cheap that the adoption of the machine was unprofitable and undesirable to the capitalists. Marx adduces the example of how a stone-crushing machine invented by English-

* *Capital*, Vol. I, p. 361, Russian edition, 1920.

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men was not adopted in England because the laborers doing that work were paid such a miserable pittance that the introduction of the machine would have rendered stone-crushing more expensive to the capitalists. A large number of other English inventions were first applied in America for the reason that labor was too cheap in England. For scores of years the European Association of Bottle Manufacturers deliberately blocked on the Continent the adoption of the American machine of Owen for the mechanical manufacturing of bottles. Even the famous Diesel motor was for a long time prevented from being put into use owing to the opposition of coal mine owners whose domination it threatened.

The report contains a minute analysis of the basic contradictions of technical progress and mechanization under the conditions of capitalism, which are demonstrated with particular fullness on the question of unemployment.

Unemployment, under capitalism, is the inevitable consequence of technical progress, and in its turn, it checks the further development of technical progress, the introduction of new machines, and the application of new scientific methods in industrial practice.

These tendencies to check and obstruct technical, and consequently also scientific development, became particularly pronounced in the final monopoly stage of capitalism.

We can demonstrate a thousand examples of how the powerful capitalist monopolies that have monopolized also the motive forces of technical progress (the apparatus of scientific research work, the laboratories, the patents, and the inventors and scientists themselves) are taking advantage of this monopoly, in the first place, to artificially check the technical progress.

A number of bourgeois scientists and economists, attentively studying the surrounding realities, were bound to admit the rapid growth of these tendencies.

Buying out patents, supporting obsolete plants, fixing cartel prices according to manufacturing costs of the worst plants, secrecy in scientific research work, fear of innovations that threaten depreciation of the old capital stock, etc.—such are everyday facts of industrial reality in the epoch of monopoly capitalism.

Under capitalism, the adoption of technical achievements is always considerably below the extent possible under a given level of scientific and technical development.

As a result we find that in the most advanced capitalist countries the utilization of the achievements of modern technology is limited to a relatively small proportion of plants while allowing the continued existence of obsolete plants in which human labor is wantonly squandered. That the real application of technical discoveries lags far behind the already possible development of the forces

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of production, is attested by a number of bourgeois economists. Glaring examples of this kind were furnished by the Hoover Commission which investigated the question of waste in industry.

According to calculation by *Iron Age*, by putting all the industrial plants in the United States upon the level of modern technique, it would be possible to shorten the working day to one-third of the present, while at the same time doubling the output.

Under the conditions of monopoly capitalism, this discrepancy between technical possibilities and their industrial application becomes particularly great.

Naturally, all these facts and tendencies have a most direct bearing upon the development of scientific research work.

To begin with, these tendencies of monopoly capitalism, by hindering the growth of the forces of production, clip the wings of scientific creative activity, technical initiative, and inventiveness. A huge portion of scientific work, the labor of many years, is practically wasted finding no application in industry, in life, in reality.

As we shall presently see, even a greater portion of scientific thought and activity is squandered upon direct destruction, upon wars and preparations for wars.

Even those scientific achievements which are carried into effect are resulting only in worsening the conditions of millions of toilers, hence the latter are bound to treat them with indifference and hostility. As was written by Marx, "Under capitalism, to be a worker engaged in production is not a blessing, but a curse," and therefore "the worker considers the development of the productivity of his own labor as something inimical to him, and he is right."

This creates for scientific activity an atmosphere of isolation from the overwhelming majority of the population in which, naturally, real scientific creative work cannot be developed to its full extent. Such an extent can be created only under the conditions of the utmost sympathy, support, direct participation of the masses, feeling that each forward step in science and technology means improvement in their conditions, relief in their labor, their emancipation. But such a situation we have only in the Soviet Union.

All these contradictions are manifested with particular force in times of capitalist crises.

Under the present world crisis of capitalism, the largest hitherto recorded, which has clearly destroyed all the hopes that were entertained for the possibility of a lengthy period of prosperity without crisis, these effects of capitalist economy on the development of science and technology have manifested themselves with quite unprecedented force.

The report alludes to a number of instances of the colossal waste of forces of production during the period of crisis, the deliberate

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curtailment of production, the direct destruction of foodstuffs and raw materials, machines and implements.

Science in many cases deliberately and systematically places itself in the service of reducing the food stocks of humanity (*e. g.*, eosination and gasification of rye and wheat in Germany) and the supplies of raw materials. The reduced use of the industrial equipment of the basic capitalist countries to 1-4 to 1-3 of its capacity leads to the losing of all the advantages of mass production, to increased manufacturing costs, to the transformation of all the achievements of modern technique into hindrance for the capitalists and source of poverty and destitution for millions of toilers.

No wonder that a number of influential representatives of capitalist industry, technology, science, and of the press, are expressing themselves for slackening the "jazz band of modern industry," for the discontinuance of technical rationalization, for "subordinating technique to the dictates of the merchant" and so forth. The report cites a number of utterances of this kind, as well as a number of attempts at carrying out these ideas in practice (*e. g.*, the "pick and shovel plan" that is being carried out by a number of municipalities in America).

All these theories and plans clearly demonstrate how the conditions of modern capitalism have become an obstacle to the development of the forces of production, of science and technology.

The most stupendous kind of waste of the forces of production under the conditions of modern capitalism is presented by the unemployment crisis.

The fact of there being upwards of 15 million unemployed in the summer of 1930 and of upward of 20-25 million in the summer of 1931, at the very height of the building and agricultural seasons, the exclusion of over a quarter, and in some countries, over half of the working class from the process of production, and the sharp reduction in the consuming capacity of 80-100 million people, implies de-qualification, poverty, starvation, and consequently, emaciation, and partly physical destruction of the basis of the forces of production. This wasting of the most essential of the forces of production by far outweighs the results of all the technical changes, of all the achievements in the organization of production. Tens of millions have to starve and be deprived of sheer necessities for the alleged reason of over-production of commodities. At the same time this becomes no longer a temporary or partial situation, but is more and more becoming universal, lasting and constant for a considerable portion of the population. Just as modern capitalism—in some, although more and more frequent cases—burns or dumps into the sea stocks of food because they

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cannot be sold with a profit, so it is now "burning" labor power upon an unprecedented scale, not in the process of labor and exploitation, but because it cannot exploit these workers with a profit. The American journalist, Chase, calls this situation the "economics of a madhouse," but Marx has already long before Chase demonstrated that this "madhouse" must inevitably become the basis of capitalist economy.

Bearing in mind the deliberate curtailment of the production of raw materials and foodstuffs, the shortage of work for the staff of employees in production (calculated on the basis of one shift per diem) to the extent of 25 per cent in "good years" of stabilization, and of almost 50 per cent at the very commencement of the development of the crisis, the unemployment of a quarter to a third of the workers; taking into account the millions of money that are paid to defray the cost of the last war, the expenditures on current "little" wars, and the incalculable expenditures that are being made in the preparations for future wars, we arrive then at the conclusion that modern capitalism does not utilize even one-hundredth part of the capacity and possibilities of production of the present available production apparatus and man-power. Yet, even in countries of powerful capitalist development, this production apparatus is composed of a motley mixture of modern plants with even larger remains of obsolete, backward production units that are artificially supported by monopoly capitalism, this being done on a particularly large scale in the old capitalist countries.

Bearing in mind, further, the artificial frequently forcible retention of the economic backwardness of the colonies, the enforced backwardness and wanton waste of labor in agriculture; and reparations, the tariff walls, and other numerous obstacles and barriers to the development of the forces of production, we see that in reality, the "co-efficient of useful action" of the modern capitalist machine is even still lower.

If the technical achievements already existing in some of the industrial plants were to be extended, at the present level of technical development, to the whole of industry, transport, and agriculture, then this alone would extend by several times the volume of the forces of production. All this, apart from the unquestionable fact that the further development goes on at an ever increasing pace. Emancipated from the brakes of capitalism, it may yield in the shortest historical periods an unheard of progress in economic development.

A further reflection of the crisis of scientific research work is that in the race for retrenchment, there is a constant diminution in the funds granted towards the upkeep of universities, scientific

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institutes, laboratories, stipends, etc. Unemployment involving tens of millions of workers, does not spare also the scientific workers, engineers, and technicians. The former Chairman of the German Society of Engineers, Prof. Matschos, draws in the Society's journal a harrowing picture of the effect of the crisis.

> "In the higher technical schools (of Germany) there are about 40,000 students of whom 8,000 annually graduate. Among the graduates there is terrific unemployment. On an average, only 20 per cent secure jobs, 10 per cent continue studying, 20 per cent take on any work outside of their profession, and the remainer, about 50 per cent, are left without any occupation. It is not longer a rare sight to see engineers with diplomas sleeping in doss-houses that open their doors at 10 P. M., who do not enjoy a square meal, who consider themselves lucky if they manage to earn a few marks on any odd job, *e. g.*, as dishwashers, cigaret vendors, hired dancing partners, etc. Charity tries to take care of most acute cases of distress, but it cannot do the most essential thing—to give these specialists jobs. The mental equipment secured at the price of many sacrifices finds no application.
>
> "They dream of quitting the street, but when asked what they have been doing since having obtained the diploma, they can only reply, 'Looking for a job.' The situation is such that the personnel is everywhere being reduced.
>
> "Yet, thousands of young people flock to the universities. Everybody still believes the profession of an engineer to be rich in promise. At the same time, we find that the societies of engineers are warning more and more about the profession being overcrowded beyond all proportion, warning against all expectations, and demanding a rigid selection. What is going to be the outcome of all this? They are now figuring on 15,000 graduates, but we are told that there are going to be 40,000 by 1934. Provision is at present made for about 13,000 academic graduates to be employed in 1934, while there are now 30,000 of them unemployed. Can we afford to contemplate such a situation with folded arms? Is it not high time to put a stop to this mass striving after a diploma and higher learning?" *

The organ of the German industrialists, *Deutsche Bergwerkzeitung*, commenting on this article (April 21, 1931), gives a "reassuring" reply to the rhetorical question put by Prof. Matschos, pointing out that in a certain city in Western Germany a group of graduates were generously given jobs as . . . tramway workers. However, the newspaper goes on to say (quite reasonably) that "the warning against academic professions would be far more effective if the warners would at the same time mention professions that are not overcrowded and hold out better promises. This is not done because there are no such professions." Quite so! The

* *V. D. I. Nachrichten*, 1931.

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newspaper noted also the fact that to a graduate technician the lack of employment implies the end of his career, as there is almost no possibility of adaptation to some other kind of work.

Quite identical is the situation in regard to various groups of intellectuals. As a rule, the conditions of scientific workers engaged directly in scientific research are not any better, but rather worse.

The only way out seen by the professor is to close further admission to the higher schools. These facts show how modern capitalism not only blindly destroys the material forces of production in periods of crisis, not only throws millions of workers out of the process of production, but also tries to cut the roots of future scientific and technical development.

Finally, the crisis introduces into the midst of scientific workers a mass of ideological incoherence and confusion. Unable to fathom the causes of the terrific economic concussions, to give a really scientific analysis of the phenomena taking place around them, and to indicate a way out (all this the Marxian method alone can give), the overwhelming portion of them fall into despondency and pessimism, looking for a way out in mysticism, spiritism, religious superstition, etc. Scientific workers are spending more and more of their time in scholastic exercises, in vain and fruitless attempts at reconciling science with a belief in the supernatural; entrapped in the maze of capitalist contradictions, in the anarchy of the capitalist system, their minds vainly seek salvation in the intercession of those transcendental powers.

The most appalling and ignominious part in the effect of capitalism on scientific and technical development is the role played by modern science and technique in the preparations for wars.

The report gives an analysis of the causes which prompt the modern capitalist states to prepare for new military collisions, and the basic technical features of future wars.

The report deals minutely with the incessant systematic activity going on in scientific institutions and laboratories on the preparation of new deadly weapons of warfare destined by their very nature for use not only against foreign armies, but also against the entire civil population of the country.

The greatest achievements of synthetic chemistry, aviation, bacteriology, etc., which serve the needs of humanity, are being adapted to the purpose of wholesale destruction eclipsing all the historic examples of barbarism and savagery. Suffice it to quote the following statement of Mr. Winston Churchill on the character of modern warfare:

> "It was not until the dawn of the twentieth century of the Christian era that war actually began to enter its kingdom as the

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> potential destroyer of the human race. The organization of mankind into great states and empires and the rise of nations to full collective consciousness enabled enterprises of slaughter to be planned and executed upon a scale, with a perseverance, never before imagined. All the noblest virtues of individuals were gathered together to strengthen the destructive capacity of the mass . . . Science unfolded her treasures and her secrets to the desperate demands of men and placed in their hands agencies and apparatus almost decisive in their character." *

After reviewing the great battles of the past, he goes on to describe what he believes the future war would look like:

> "All that happened in the four years of the Great War was only a prelude to what was preparing for the fifth year. . . . In 1919, thousands of aeroplanes would have shattered their (German) cities. Scores of thousands of cannon would have blasted their front. . . . Poison gases of incredible ingenuity, against which only a secret mask . . . was proof, would have stifled all resistance and paralyzed all life on the hostile front. . . .
>
> "These projects were put aside unfinished, unexecuted; but their knowledge was preserved; their data, calculations and discoveries were hastily bundled together and docketed 'for future reference' by the War Offices in every country. The campaign of 1919 was never fought; but its ideas go marching along. In every army they are being explored, elaborated, refined under the surface of peace. . . . Death stands at attention; obedient, expectant, ready to serve, ready to shear away the peoples en masse; ready, if called upon, to pulverize without hope of repair what is left of civilization. He awaits only the command." *

After describing the role of chemical science in this respect, and the pseudo-scientific attempts of some scientists to demonstrate the "humanitarianism" of chemical warfare, the report demonstrates how the war policy exercises the strongest effect on the whole character and trend of scientific research work. Thus, capitalism endeavors in a "planned" manner to subordinate science and technique, the apparatus of production, and the whole population to the task of organized wholesale destruction and extermination. In this respect, the contradictions of scientific and technical development are revealed with particular force, scope, and acuteness.

Already the present state of science and technique secures such a gigantic growth of the forces of production as modern capitalism is unable to realize.

Scores of millions of workers are shut out from the process of production; they are eager to work but they cannot find it.

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* Winston Churchill, *The World Crisis. The Aftermath,* London, 1929, pp. 452-455.

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Other scores of millions are engaged in non-productive labor, in serving the incredibly swollen apparatus of trade, advertising, the gigantic machinery for suppressing the masses, the manufacturing of public opinion, and, lastly, catering to the luxuries and whims of the upper crust of the bourgeoisie.

Hundreds of millions work from morn till night in the factories, mines, plantations, burning away their stamina in a few years, turning old at 40; nevertheless, the social productivity of their labor is relatively negligible as the result of capitalist waste.

Hundreds of millions in agriculture are tied to their miserable plots of land, laboring in the sweat of their brow, under conditions which exclude the application of science and modern technique, not always eking out even the most miserable existence.

Lastly, many millions of workers are still spending all their strength to pay for the consequences of the world war of 1914-1918, and the costs of preparations for new wars.

Huge reserves of fuel and metals are waiting in the bowels of the earth to be brought up to the surface.

Waterfalls and rivers are waiting to be harnessed by dams, for the streams of water to set turbines and generators in motion, dispensing the vitalizing current of electricity.

Thousands of technical problems, quite realizable with the present state of technique, are still held in abeyance.

Already the present state of science and technology permits, with relatively negligible expenditure of labor, the subjection of the elements, erection of new cities, the automatizing of a number of production processes, the rendering of labor a joy.

Yet modern capitalism cannot make use of all of these possibilities.

Each attempt on the part of capitalism at the development of forces of production creates ever new antagonisms, leads to ever new and more appalling waste, destruction, crises, and wars. Capitalism cannot help it. No scientific forces can alter these laws which govern the rise and decline of the capitalist society, just as they cannot alter the laws of growth and decay of the human organism. And there is but one science which shows the way out—it is the Marxist scientific analysis of social development.

II. THE SOVIET UNION

The Soviet Union constitutes the first experiment in human history of the application of this scientific analysis and scientific methods for the conscious construction of social relations, for planned guidance of the economic life, for directing the course of cultural, scientific, and technical development. The very existence and

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the whole course of development of the Soviet Union is thus connected with genuine scientific theory.

This year the Soviet State is in the fourteenth year of its existence. During the current year has been accomplished more than one-half of the great Five-Year Plan of socialist construction.

This makes it necessary for scientific analysis to sum up results, to compare the experiences of two systems, to ascertain their respective tendencies of development. This analysis shows:

Firstly, the unquestionable fact that the appalling world economic crisis engulfing with unprecedented force all the capitalist countries without exception, and all the branches of world economy, is halting at the border of the Soviet Union. Not only does the Soviet Union not experience a crisis, but on the contrary, during the last two years it has shown a tremendous upward trend of economic development.

Secondly, this comparison shows that while the anarchy of capitalist economy throws millions of workers out of employment, the Soviet Union has disposed of the problem of unemployment, annually attracting millions of new workers into industry, and carrying out a great plan of mechanization to obviate the growing shortage of man-power.

Thirdly, this comparison shows that the tempo of economic development in the Soviet Union is many times faster than in all the capitalist countries, including the United States of America, during their best periods of development.

Fourthly, this comparison shows that while the anarchy of capitalist economy increases year by year and no successes of capitalist concentration, no efforts of scientific prognostication can soften the spasmodic fits of this fever; in the Soviet Union we see the constantly growing and enduring successes of deliberate *planning* of the entire economic life: the quarterly, annual, and the Five-Year Plans are being carried out with a margin; work is now proceeding on the drafting of the second Five-Year Plan, during which this country is to overtake the leading capitalist countries and gain the mastery of the most advanced modern technique.

Fifthly, this comparison shows that while agriculture throughout the world has been suffering from a crisis for many years already, showing its total inadaptability to reorganization upon the basis of modern science and technique; the agriculture of the Soviet Union, for the first time in the history of mankind, is being remodeled into large-scale collective farming with the most advanced technical methods and new social relations.

Sixthly, this comparison shows that while the conditions of modern capitalism are aggravating more and more the antagonism be-

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tween city and country, between physical and mental labor, the Soviet Union is taking decisive steps along the road of eliminating these ancient antagonisms upon the basis of drawing the millions of the toilers into the wave of cultural evolution, education and enlightenment.

Lastly, this comparison shows that while the development of the capitalist antagonisms leads to a distinct intensification of the tendency to check the progress of technology and science; in the Soviet Union science and technology are finding an absolutely unlimited arena for development, quite new possibilities of practical application and of decisive effect upon all branches of life.

All these deductions are based upon facts which no objective, really scientific observer can dispute. These facts may be tested by anyone, and the Soviet Government is prepared to afford to any scientific and technical worker all the possibilities for testing and investigating these facts on the spot.

Notably, the report adduces a number of facts relating to the economic construction now developing in the Soviet Union in all branches of industry, transport, and agriculture. This construction, by its scope, is without precedent in history.

A number of statistical data cited in the report from official capitalist sources (the League of Nations, etc.) show the results of this development in comparison with the development of other countries.

These data, which have already been surpassed in actual life, indicate the results of the contest between the two systems more than volumes of arguments. Suffice it to observe that the index of industrial production of 1930 in all the capitalist countries has sunk below the level of 1925, whereas in the U. S. S. R. it has been *tripled.*

Moreover, the planned utilization of the immense natural wealth of the Soviet Union and of the even greater reserves of enthusiasm, energy, and creative initiative of the masses, are really only beginning to unfold to their full extent. A declining role in this unfoldment is now attached to science and technology.

III. SCIENCE AND TECHNOLOGY IN THE SOVIET UNION

The Soviet Union has set before itself the task of technically and economically overtaking and outstripping the advanced capitist countries within the shortest historical period. The teeming millions of our country are at the present time animated by enthusiasm unknown in history for the mastering of modern science and technique, for the gaining of knowledge which would enable them to remodel the whole of life, to subjugate the forces of

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nature to the collective toil of the toilers. This alone shows the colossal importance attached in the Soviet Union to scientific and technological creative activity, to research work, to the spreading of knowledge among the masses. This, however, does not and cannot limit the role and tasks of science in the Soviet Union.

The endeavor to overtake the technique of the advanced capitalist countries does not imply that we can content ourselves with merely copying all the aspects of this technique.

Already in the history of the capitalist world we see that, for instance, the United States, having overtaken and outstripped the technique of the old European countries in the last few decades, was forced to raise and solve a number of quite new technical and scientific problems conducted with the requirements of mass production, with the gigantic scope of industrialization in that country.

This applies to an incomparably greater extent to the problems which are at present raised and solved by the Soviet Union that is carrying out industrialization upon an entirely new basis and at a pace and on a scale unknown even to the United States.

Here it has neither previous experience nor examples. Already in the very process of this work it has to solve scientific and technical problems which have not yet been solved anywhere at all.

As a case in point, let us take the domain of agriculture.

Already last year the average annual working of tractors in the United States was 400-600 hours, whereas in the Soviet Union it was no less than 2,500 hours. The Soviet Union already now has thousands of mechanized grain farms surpassing all the records of the United States. In the current year the Soviet Union organizes cattle rearing ranches on a scale unprecedented in the world. It sets before itself the problem of mechanizing all the processes of agriculture in grain growing, commercial crops, gardening, etc. It carries out planned, scientifically thought out specialization of agriculture over vast territories, each of which is equal to the big European countries by its area.

All these tasks call for the creation of new types of machines and implements, for the working out of new forms of connection between the motor and the hitching appliances, for new forms of labor organization, plant selection, etc.

Thus, the technical reconstruction of agriculture involves thousands of new problems in economics, agronomy, chemistry, physics, botany, zoology, energetics, machine construction.

The solving of these problems is unthinkable without the unfolding of scientific research work upon a gigantic scale. And along with the utilization of all the achievments of science and technique of the advanced capitalist countries, utilization in many cases far

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more complete and effective than in those very countries, the economic practice of the U. S. S. R. already now demands from science and agricultural technique a reply to a number of questions which have not yet been solved, the blazing of new trails, new discoveries and inventions, new scientific theories.

The same relates in equal measure to the problems of electrification of the Soviet Union and to a number of other problems relating to economic and cultural construction.

The completion of the Five-Year Plan by next year (*i. e.*, in four years) confronts the Soviet Union with the problem of working out a new, second Five-Year Plan. This plan, accompanied by the gigantic quantitative growth of economy, should also afford the most qualitative readjustment of the technical basis of the national economy. It stands to reason that the deciding role in the elaboration and execution of this plan should belong to science and technology outlining the course of future development.

What is the scientific-technical apparatus possessed by the Soviet Union for this purpose? What are the dynamics of its development, its organizational structure, its relations with other organs of the Soviet State?

The legacy inherited from tzarist Russia in this domain is even more miserable than it is in the domain of industry. Pre-revolutionary Russia had individual great scientists—mathematicians, physicians, chemists, biologists.

They gave a number of important discoveries and inventions, a number of profound, scientific theories, but all those theories and discoveries were in the overwhelming majority utilized only abroad, since neither the feeble industry nor the general atmosphere of the tzarist autocracy—that "prison of nations"—allowed the development and utilization of those discoveries in practice.

Suffice it to observe that in pre-revolutionary Russia there was not really a single scientific research institute worthy of the name. The whole of the scientific activity was concentrated in a few poorly equipped university laboratories that were detached from industry and completely isolated from the masses of the people. In order to furnish an idea of the growth of the network of scientific research organizations under Soviet rule, suffice it to mention that in industry alone there were:

In 1928.—24 scientific research institutes with 8 branches.

In 1930.—72 scientific institutes with 83 branches. (Included among these are such gigantic institutions like the Themo-Technical Institute, the Physico-Technical Institute, etc., which have no equal in Europe.)

Agriculture in the current year was served by 47 institutes, transport—by 10, popular education—by 14, public health—by 84, and

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so on. The total number of scientific research institutes in the beginning of 1929 was 789.

The number of factory laboratories runs now into thousands. The scientific staffs of industrial institutes (exclusive of factory laboratories, as well as of administrative and service personnel) have reached the number of 11,000. In 1931 there were about 40,000 workers engaged exclusively in scientific research work in this country.

The financing of the network of scientific research institutions in industry alone (again exclusive of the factory laboratories) has reached the amount of about 250,000,000 roubles, as against 12,000,000 in 1925-26, and 58,000,000 in 1928-29.

These fragmentary data testify to a tremendous constant growth year by year.

Nevertheless, even this growth is quite inadequate to satisfy the ever-growing requirements.

The Soviet Government is taking a series of measures to accelerate further the pace of this growth, of the unfolding of the network of scientific research institutions, of the training of the necessary staffs.

The enrollment of students in the universities and technical colleges, which numbered less than 100,000 in 1929, grew into 157,000 in 1931, and has to be further raised to 230,000 for 1932.

Already in 1931 should be achieved the doubling of the number of our engineering and technical personnel, and the full completion of the Five-Year Plan in this respect. Enrollment in the technical schools under the 1932 plan calls for the admission of 420,000 students, of 350,000 students to the workers' faculties (as compared with 166,000 in 1931), and of 1,000,000 pupils in the factory apprenticeship schools as compared with 700,000 in 1931. The proportion of graduates of the workers' faculties in the higher schools should reach 75-80 per cent. This at a time when, according to official German data, among the students of all the higher schools in Germany there are only 2-3 per cent of proletarian descent, and even in the intermediate schools in Prussia only 5.4 per cent of the boys and 3.4 per cent of the girls are of proletarian descent. A bourgeois journal, commenting on these data, observes that "the privilege of higher education is exceedingly rarely won by the sons of the workers. Even if a young worker should pass the examination for matriculation, he would have to work to earn a living. Of the 1,110 lucky ones who got a stipend in 1928 there were only 12 per cent workers."

In the Soviet Union all the students are assured stipends and board. There is a steady increase in the numbers of proletarian

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students taking up scientific work upon graduating from the higher school.

Prospective plans for 1932 provide for a 40 per cent increase in the total number of scientific workers.

One of the most essential features of the organization of scientific research work in the Soviet Union is the principle of *planning*.

At one time there were debates as to whether it was generally possible to plan scientific activity; those debates are now substantially concluded. The socialist plan, which has so brilliantly demonstrated its advantages in the guiding of economy, has been unanimously recognized as the leading principle in the domain of scientific work.

The whole network of research activity in industry is working in conformity with a single summary plan worked out by the Scientific Research Sector of the Supreme Council of National Economy with the assistance of the Institutes and of prominent workers in various branches of science. The same thing happens in agriculture, transport, and other branches.

In place of isolated individuals whose character and atmosphere of activity is really in the nature of petty craft; in place of the isolated scientific research organs of capitalism that are directly or indirectly subordinated to financial capital, we have here a planned, organized network of scientific research bodies united by the common task of raising the forces of production upon a socialist basis. Recently a new step was taken in the Soviet Union for the planning of the whole of the scientific research work of the country at large. The first Scientific Research Planning Conference, which was attended by over a thousand delegates from scientific organizations in all branches of science and technology, investigated the most essential problems confronting the research workers, outlined the methodology of planning in this domain, appealed to all scientists and scientific workers to join in the working out of this plan. The Conference went on amid tremendous enthusiasm and has demonstrated that inexhaustible reserves of thought and creative activity may become available by doing away with unplanned wastefulness in the domain of scientific work.

The decisions of that Conference may serve to scientific and technical workers of the capitalist countries as an example of the possibilities opened by the Soviet system to scientific thought. For instance, let us allude to the decision to impose the obligation upon all planning and operative economic organs to include in their industrial reconstruction plans, as an organic part thereof, the realization of the achievements of the scientific research institutes furnishing them with the necessary finances and material means.

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Or the decision to oblige the economic organization to set apart and attach to the institutes the necessary number of industrial plants to be transformed into experimental works for carrying out the achievements of the new technique. Or the decision to oblige all newly building large industrial enterprises to provide for the installation of factory laboratories as an inseparable part of a given enterprise, or the awarding of premiums to enterprises adopting the advanced technique and fixing legal and material responsibility for delay in the realization of scientific achievements. No less important are the decisions concerning the publication of popular accounts by the scientific institutes on their activities, systematic travelling scholarships for practical industrial workers to take up temporary work in the scientific institutes, the inclusion of directors of scientific institutes upon managing boards of the respective trusts, the widest attraction of the trade unions to render assistance to the scientific institutes and to make propaganda for scientific and technical achievements.

Or let us take the decisions of such types as the inclusion of collective testing of important inventions and improvements in the general plan of the scientifico-technical work of all the branches of industry, transport, and agriculture; the working out of special tasks for inventors by factories and by branches of industry; the submission of plans and achievements of the Academy of Sciences, of the scientific institutes and laboratories, for wide discussion by workers interested in inventions, and so on and so forth.

In no capitalist country would it be possible to achieve anything resembling the measures of this kind. They are incompatible with the very nature of capitalism, they are possible only when science and technology become connected with the process of the great socialist construction, when the scientific workers, in organized and planned fashion, direct their efforts to the carrying out of the "social order" of the large masses of the toilers—to raise to the highest level the whole technique and economy of the great country that is building socialism.

In this connection it is necessary to observe that even more important than the planning of scientific research work is the direct *organizational connection of science and technology with the large masses of the working class.*

This connection is now beginning to be realized in the Soviet Union upon an entirely unprecedented scale. The struggle for the mastery of science and technique embraces already, not scores and hundreds of thousands, but millions of workers.

This opens up such reserves of energy, initiative, inventiveness, that could not even be dreamed of a short time ago. In each factory, Soviet farm, higher school, special organizations are formed

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for the mastery of technique, inventor circles, and vast activity is carried on for the spreading of scientific and technical knowledge. During dinner intervals, and in their leisure hours, the great masses of the workers are eagerly and stubbornly studying, attentively watching the possibilities of improvement in their particular line of industry, preparing themselves for admission to technical schools and colleges, enthusiastically welcoming prominent scientists reporting to them on their discoveries and researches. There is only a lack of men and time to satisfy this thirst for culture, knowledge, science, which has arisen even among the most backward strata among the working class. Thus we see the truth of the prognostication made by Engels when he wrote that "the society emancipated from the shackles of capitalist production, bringing forth a new generation of thoroughly developed producers who understand the scientific foundations of the whole of the industrial process and who study practically, each one in his branch, the whole series of branches of production from beginning to end, will be able to create a new force of production." (*Anti-Duehring.*)

In this manner the antagonism between physical and mental labor begins to be eliminated. Already now, at the very beginning of this development, the struggle of the masses for the mastery of science and technique, is performing miracles. Let us refer, for instance, to the domain of *workers' invention.* The number of suggestions and inventions by workers has increased a hundredfold during the past year. Frequently one finds factories receiving thousands of suggestions from the workers in the course of the year. Among other things, the struggle of the masses for the mastery of technique reveals itself in the quite novel way of *organic combination of the planned activity of the scientific research institutes with the mass inventive activity of the workers,* while the latter, in its turn, is connected with an even more powerful movement of the millions —socialist competition and shock work.

Mass inventive activity of the workers is becoming one of the highest forms of socialist competition, one of the most important and most promising stages of its development.

A brilliant example of the first manifestations of this tendency is furnished by the events of recent months in the Donetz Coal Basin.

When the mechanization of the Donetz Basin was taken up as a *political* task, when the carrying out of mechanization became the business of the large masses of the mine workers, the Donetz Basin saw the steady rise in the wave of technical initiative on the part of the workers and the engineering and technical forces. The start was made. And in the recent months there was something like a steady stream of inventions, suggestions, rationalization pro-

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posals, all tending to bring about a conveyor flow of coal brought up from the mine, in other words, to bring about a profound technical revolution in the methods of coal mining.

The idea of continuous coal mining originated in the Donetz Basin mines at the end of 1930, when the methods of Kartashev, Kasaurov, Filimonov, and Liebhardt were put forth. This was followed by a steady flow of inventions and improvement proposals made by scores of other workers. The proposals are now pouring in from nearly every mechanized pit. Many of these proposals are not even particularly novel. Yet, while analogous ideas were held in abeyance for years in the past, at the present time, combining with the wave of socialistic competition, with the general mighty enthusiasm of the workers, they are bringing about a revolution in the methods of production, foreshadowing in many cases the possibility of not only overtaking, but also outstripping foreign technique in the very near future.

The wave of inventiveness in the Donetz Basin presents an exceedingly telling example of the boundless possibilities harbored in the struggle for the new technique and for industrial improvements rendered possible by arousing the initiative and the spirit of emulation among the masses of the workers.

Lately we saw even more interesting phenomena in this domain. No sooner did the news spread about the imminent underground revolution in the Donetz Basin, no sooner were the general features of the methods of Kartashev, Karausov, Filimonov, and Liebhardt made known, when from all parts of the Soviet Union, thousands of kilometers away from the Donetz Basin, in the Siberian mines, in the Urals, in the Kuznetsk Basin, there surged up a similar wave of inventing initiative. Thus, in the Cheliabinsk coal basin the workers launched the remarkably expressive slogan: *"The Cheliabinsk Pits shall have their own Kartashevs!"* And this slogan did not remain an empty sound. The Cheliabinsk pits did get their own Kartashevs. This slogan was taken up by the large masses of the workers, by engineers and technicians, by scientific research workers. The present slogans are as follows:

Each factory, mine, Soviet farm, each scientific research institute and laboratory should have their own inventors. Each shock worker, having mastered the technique, may and should become an inventor, a rationalizer, contributing his mite to the improvement of production proceses, to the development of technique, and consequently, to the development of science.

In this connection we may refer to another domain in which we see quite similar progress, namely, the *study of the natural resources of the country*. In all international statistical reference books you will find data about the reserves of petroleum, coal, ores, and other

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mineral wealth upon the territory of the Soviet Union. These data do not reflect a hundredth part of the real resources. Already the discoveries of the last few years have increased the old data tenfold.

Each expedition of the Academy of Sciences and of the geological exploration institutes to Siberia, Central Asia, Kasakstan, Caucasus, etc., reveals new deposits of wealth. *The country is being newly discovered, in the literal sense of the term.* Now this work, besides scientific and special institutes, attracts thousands of voluntary workers among the local population—school teachers, collective farmers, young people. In the most outlying parts of the country there are being formed circles and groups which study the local nature, and after mastering the rudiments of the technique of geological exploration, are enthusiastic in this work of exploring the underground wealth, not for the sake of personal gain, but to assist in the building of Socialism. And this movement of the masses, fertilized by scientific thought and modern technique, yields the most unexpected discoveries resulting at times in the total transformation of the economic perspectives of entire districts and regions.

All this promises to give a new mighty stimulus to the "incessant, ever more rapid development of the process of production" prophesied by Engels as the result of shaking off the chains of capitalism.

This development of the force of production postulates similar incessant and ever more rapid development of science.

This outlook is no longer of the distant future, no longer a vague and nebuluous aim. It is the very reality in which we are living, working, building. It is the beginning of the new historic stage into which we have just entered.

This outlook is bound to fascinate every honest specialist who loves his work, every scientist and research worker, just as it does the masses of the proletariat in this country.

Thus, the German Professor Bonn was forced to admit, in his book on the United States, that in the U.S.S.R. "the golden age of science and technology has come" and that this fact is of tremendous international importance. Lenin wrote once to the great American electro-technical expert Steinmetz:

> "You as a representative of electrical technique of one of the most advanced countries in technical development, have become convinced of the necessity and inevitability of replacing capitalism by a new order of society which will establish the planning regulation of economy and will secure the welfare of the whole mass of the people upon the basis of electrification of entire countries.
>
> "In all countries throughout the world there is growing—slower than it might be desired, yet relentlessly and steadily—the number of representatives of science, technique, art, who become con-

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vinced of the necessity of substituting for capitalism a different social-economic order, and who, unscared by the 'tremendous difficulties' of the struggle of Soviet Russia against the whole of the capitalist world, but rather attracted by them, are realizing the inevitability of the struggle and the necessity to take part in it, helping 'the new to overcome the old.' "

Tens of thousands of scientific workers, united in collective bodies and carrying on their work on definite plans, organically associated with the proletariat, constantly drawing re-inforcements from its ranks, blazing new paths of science and technique jointly with the millions of worker inventors and rationalizers, are not only helping to overcome the old handicaps, but also to build up their country anew.

This evolution of progress in U.S.S.R. upon the background of unprecedented crisis of world capitalism is becoming ever more clearly realized by numerous representatives of the bourgeois intelligentsia, by prominent scientists and technicians who cannot shut their eyes to the real facts.

Among numerous statements of this kind, let us refer, for instance, to the remarks by the German economist Bonn on the significance of the American crisis and of the economic construction of the Soviets.

Professor Bonn writes:

"The Olympus was wrecked by an earthquake. When the crumbling walls of the temple destroyed the roofs of the huts, and the dying gods, instead of giving protection, deal destruction around them, then the believers are seized, not with regret that the gods too are mortal, but with bitter doubt and blind hatred. What is the sense in worshipping such gods any longer?

"Millions of unemployed, hundreds of thousands of ruined lives, suffering in America under the blows of the crisis: they no longer grumble against individual economic leaders who failed to prevent the crisis, they are beginning to doubt the very system which has made the crisis possible.

"Capitalism and the capitalist economic system hitherto appeared to the average American to be the reasonable form of existence. These forces had built up the greatness of his country in the past, and afforded the opportunities of existence to his predecessors. He expected from them the possibilities of a reasonable existence along the same road.

"This the system can no longer yield. And in thousands of hearts and brains the question arises: has the capitalist system any right at all to exist, if in one of the richest countries in the world it cannot bring about an order of society securing to a relatively sparse, industrious and capable population, an existence that is consistent with the requirements, and with the development of modern technique, without periodically throwing millions of people out

* Prof. Bonn in *Neue Rundschau*, February, 1931.

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of work and damning them to destitution and to the aid of soup kitchens and doss-houses?

"The sense and significance of the American crisis consists in the fact that now not only the present possessing class in America or the ruling class, but the whole of the capitalist system as such is taken under a question mark." *

Professor Bonn observes a profound change in the moods of the intelligentsia, especially of the technical intelligentsia, under the great ideological effect of the Russian revolution, of the very fact of the existence of the Soviet Union. He writes:

"Before the Bolshevik revolution it was always possible to object to advocates of socialism that their system was not only wrong, but even if true, it was unrealizable. Now one can no longer brush aside the socialist system as unrealizable. It does exist, and because it exists by the side of the capitalist system, it calls for comparisons." *

Professor Bonn draws this comparison from the standpoint of the technical intelligentsia of America:

"Russian bolshevism implies rigid planning of economy under which the engineer, upon a vacant spot, erects gigantic enterprises with all the means of modern technique. The Americans picture it to themselves as a system which builds up skyscrapers on the prairie at even a quicker pace than it was done in America by private enterprise. This appears to them to be a grand experiment of directing all efforts to the building of a desirable world in place of the old one. The heart of the American engineer on hearing about the possibilities of activity in Russia, beats stronger and faster; because in his own country he cannot think of erecting greater technical structures than in the past without reducing the profit possibilities.

"The strata of intelligentsia that have gone through the collapse of the American prosperity with its terrible aftermath, are looking in amazement upon the Five-Year Plan which, in their eyes, points the way towards determining the economic fate by a firm hand will. . . .

"There is a peculiar charm in the American world emanating from Russia. If the Five-Year Plan will be carried out in reality, it will lead many people to the idea that the Russians, who not so very long ago used to be considered as emotional, gifted barbarians, capable of writing the novels of Dostoyevsky or the operas of Tchaikovsky, have now overtaken the Americans in the domain of technique, while in regard to conscious social guidance of society, as demonstrated by their success, they have surpassed the Americans.

"Should the capitalist system fail to draw the millions of unemployed into the industrial process again, the psychological effect of this development will be exceedingly far-reaching." *

* *Ibid.*

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Thus, upon the basis of socialist relations in society, overcoming thousands of difficulties and obstacles, combating the numerous survivals of the old, the routine and prejudices of individualism, the Soviet Union is working out the new relations between science, technology, and economics.

It is for this very reason that science in this country, descending from the metaphysical spaces above the clouds, joins in the great problems of socialist reconstruction. It is granted quite unlimited possibilities of development and becomes the leading principle of the whole progress of further construction. While modifying the whole of life, it modifies also itself, starting with the grand remodelling of all the scientific disciplines upon the basis of new methods, of a new monism of all the branches of science. It does not isolate itself from the masses of the workers like a priestly caste; it does not become a hostile force that carries new hardships and privations to the millions of the workers as the involuntary results of its achievements; but on the contrary, it draws ever closer to these masses, steadily obtaining reinforcements from their ranks, and organically joining with the masses in the struggle for common aims and purposes. In this way, it acquires entirely new forces, and opens entirely unprecedented perspectives. The prognosis of Marx and Engels rises more and more clearly, that of the passage of humanity from the reign of necessity into the reign of liberty, where not the machine nor the product govern man, but the man governs the machine and the product. There is still a difficult road ahead, it will still require a good deal of struggle and many sacrifices, but there is no other way, and overcoming all obstacles and difficulties, the human race will enter into this world of free and joyous labor by the aid of the subdued forces of nature and of its steel slaves—machines.

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Thesis on the Agrarian Question

ADOPTED BY THE SECOND CONGRESS OF THE COMMUNIST INTERNATIONAL

INTRODUCTION *by* JOHN BARNETT

The extremely favorable conditions which exist for the work of the Communist Party on the countryside was emphasized by the Eleventh Plenum of the E.C.C.I. and the Thirteenth Plenum of our Party.

With the further deepening of the industrial crisis, the agrarian crisis, which has been chronic in this country for the past decade, grows constantly sharper. Increasing misery and starvation are the lot of the rural toilers. The program of the bourgeoisie is sharper attacks upon the standard of living and greater suppression of the agricultural laborers, semi-proletarians, small and middle farmers. At the same time all the capitalist parties, the farm bloc, the leaders of the old Non-Partisan League, Farmer-Labor Party (Minn.), and the Farmers Union, and the so-called farm liberals in Congress, are beginning an unprecedented campaign of demagogy with which they try to lead the blind discontent of the agrarian masses into safe channels which will serve the interests of the capitalists, and which lead only to the betrayal of the interests of the toiling farmers.

But there is a more serious aspect of these machinations and this demagogy. These class-hostile groups are attempting to mobilize the great discontent of the toiling farmers into fascist channels, a mobilization of the toiling masses on the countryside against the revolutionary forces of the proletariat. The bourgeoisie is prepared to go to great lengths to put through this program and to draw the "backbone of democratic government" to the side of reaction.

Among our Party comrades and sympathizers there is a serious underestimation of this danger. One basis for this is a misunderstanding of the nature of the militancy of the rural masses. They seem to feel that militancy among the toiling farmers means automatic additions to the revolutionary front of the working class. There is no doubt that present conditions create a much more favorable opportunity for us to carry on the struggle and win new allies for the revolutionary struggle—but they create the "opportunity" not the "new allies." The rural masses become our allies only in the fires of struggle, only by the day-to-day fight for their

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immediate and burning demands, in which we engage and lead. Only by such proof do the toiling farmers become convinced that the Communist Party only is able and willing to lead them to emancipation from the misery of capitalism. Militancy and rebellion do not of themselves mean a revolutionary political consciousness nor willingness to follow Communist leadership.

The task upon which each district of our Party must embark immediately is the task of demonstrating in action that we are the leader of all toilers, the task of mobilizing the class struggle on the countryside. Only a few districts have begun serious work among the starving and oppressed agrarian masses. There is much confusion about how to carry on this work which documents and directives of the Thirteenth Plenum will be of real aid in clarifying. It is necessary for our Party members to study these very carefully, in order to carry on the work, and be able to contribute to the tactics and policies in it. Subsequent issues of THE COMMUNIST *will carry further material on this subject.*

No comrade is prepared to carry on serious work among the agrarian masses unless he has studied the contents of the Thesis on the Agrarian Question of the Second Congress of the C. I., which was held July 17 *to August* 7, 1920. *This is a basic document containing the fundamental directives for our agrarian work. Since copies of this thesis are hard to obtain in English, it is being reprinted in this issue of* THE COMMUNIST. *In order to make available to all comrades this important document which lays the basis for an understanding of the tasks of the Communist Party among the rural masses. It is of immediate importance at this time when we are beginning concretely the task of leadership of the agricultural laborers in strikes and the semi-proletarian, poor and middle farmers in struggle through Committees of Action, the Croppers Union, and the United Farmers League.*

THESIS ON THE AGRARIAN QUESTION

1. No one but the city industrial proletariat, led by the Communist Party, can save the laboring masses in the country from the pressure of capital and landlordism, from dissolution and from imperialistic wars, ever inevitable as long as the capitalist regime endures. There is no salvation for the peasants except to join the Communist proletariat, to support with heart and soul its revolutionary struggle to throw off the yoke of the landlords and the bourgeoisie.

On the other hand, the industrial workers will be unable to carry out their universal historic mission, and to liberate humanity from the bondage of capital and war, if they shut themselves within

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their separate guilds, their narrow trade interests, and restrict themselves self-sufficiently to a desire for the improvement of their sometimes tolerable bourgeois conditions of life. That is what happens in most advanced countries possessing a "labor aristocracy" which forms the basis of the would-be parties of the Second International, who are, in fact, the worst enemies of Socialism, traitors to it, bourgeois jingoes, agents of the bourgeoisie in the labor movement. The proletariat becomes a truly revolutionary class, truly Socialist in its actions, only by acting as the vanguard of all those who work and are being exploited, as their leader in the struggle for the overthrow of the oppressors; and this cannot be achieved without carrying the class struggle into the agricultural districts, without making the laboring masses of the country all gather around the Communist Party of town proletariat, without the peasants being educated by the town proletariat.

2. The laboring and exploited masses in the country, which the town proletariat must lead on to the fight, or at least win over to its side, are represented in all capitalist countries by the following groups:

In the first place, the agricultural proletariat, the hired laborers (by the year, by the day, by the job), making their living by wage labor in capitalist, agricultural, or industrial establishments; the independent organization of this class, separated from the other groups of the country population (in a political, military, trade, cooperative, educational sense), an and energetic propaganda among it, in order to win it over to the side of the Soviet power and of the dictatorship of the proletariat, must be the fundamental task of the Communist Parties in all countries.

In the second place, the semi-proletariat or small peasants, those who make their living partly by working for wages in agricultural and industrial capitalist establishments, partly by toiling on their own or a rented parcel of land yielding but a part of the necessary food produce for their families; this class of the rural population is rather numerous in all capitalist countries, but its existence and its peculiar position are hushed up by the representatives of the bourgeoisie and the yellow "Socialists" affiliated to the Second International. Some of these people intentionally cheat the workers, but others follow blindly the average views of the public and mix up this special class with the whole mass of the "peasantry." Such a method of bourgeois deception of the workers is used more particularly in Germany and France, and then in America and in other countries. Provided that the work of the Communist Party is well organized, this group is sure to side with the Communists, the conditions of life of these half-proletarians being very hard, the advantage the Soviet power and the dictatorship of the proletariat

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would bring them being enormous and immediate. In come countries there is no clear-cut distinction between these two groups; it is, therefore, permissible under certain conditions to form them into separate organizations.

In the third place, the little proprietors, the small farmers who possess by right of ownership or on rent small portions of land which satisfy the needs of their family and of their farming without requiring any additional wage labor; this part of the population as a class gains everything by the victory of the proletariat, which brings with it: a) liberation from the payment of rent or of a part of the crops (for instance, the *metayers* in France, the same arrangements in Italy, etc.) to the owners of large estates; b) abolition of all mortgages; c) abolition of many forms of pressure and of dependence on the owners of large estates (forests and their use, etc.); d) immediate help from the proletarian state for farm work (permitting use by peasants of the agricultural implements and in part of the buildings on the big capitalist estates expropriated by the proletariat, the immediate transformation by the proletarian state power of all rural cooperatives and agricultural companies, which under the capitalist rule were chiefly supporting the wealthy and the middle peasantry, into institutions primarily for the support of the poor peasantry, that is to say, the proletarians, semi-proletarians, small farmers, etc.).

At the same time the Communist Party should be thoroughly aware that during the dictatorship of the proletariat, at least some partial hesitations are inevitable in this class, in favor of unrestricted free trade and free use of the rights of private property. For this class, being a seller of commodities (although on a small scale), is necessarily demoralized by profit-hunting and habits of proprietorship. And yet, provided there is a consistent proletarian policy—and the victorious proletariat deals relentlessly with the owners of the large estates and the landed peasants—the hesitations of the class in question will not be considerable, and cannot change the fact that on the whole this class will side with the proletarian revolution.

3. All these three groups taken together constitute the majority of the agrarian population in all capitalist countries. This guarantees in full the success of the proletarian revolution, not only in the towns but in the country as well. The opposite view is very widely spread, but it persists only because of a systematic deception on the part of bourgeois science and statistics. They hush up by every means any mention of the deep chasm which divides the rural classes we have indicated, from the exploiters, the landowners and capitalists on the one hand, from the landed peasants on the other. It holds further because of the incapacity and the failure of the "heroes" affiliated by the yellow Second International and the

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"labor aristocracy," demoralized by imperialistic privileges, to do genuine propaganda work among the poor in the country. All the attention of the opportunists was given and is being given now to the arrangement of theoretical and practical agreements with the bourgeoisie, including the landed and the middle peasantry (see paragraph concerning these classes) and not to the revolutionary overthrow of the bourgeois government and the bourgeois class by the proletariat. In the third place, this view persists because of the force of inveterate prejudice possessing already a great stability (and connected with all bourgeois-democratic and parliamentary prejudices), the incapacity to grasp a simple truth fully proved by the Marxian theory and confirmed by the practice of the proletarian revolution in Russia. This truth consists in the fact that the peasant population of the three classes we have mentioned above being extremely oppressed, scattered, and doomed to live in half-civilized conditions in all countries, even in the most advanced, is economically, socially, and morally interested in the victory of Socialism; but that it will finally support the revolutionary proletariat only after the proletariat has taken the political power, after it has done away with the owners of the large estates and the capitalists, after the oppressed masses are able to see in practice that they have an organized leader and helper sufficiently powerful and firm to support and to guide, to show the right way.

The "middle peasantry," in the economic sense, consists of small landowners who possess, according to the right of ownership or rent, portions of land, which, although small, nevertheless may: 1) usually yield under capitalist rule not only scanty provision for the family and the needs of the farming, but also the possibility of accumulating a certain surplus, which, at least in the best years, could be transformed into capital; and 2) necessitate the employment of (for instance, in a family of two or three members) wage labor. As a concrete example of the middle peasantry in an advanced capitalist country, we may take the situation in Germany, where, according to the registration of 1917, there was a group tilling farms from five to ten acres, and in these farms the number of hired agricultural laborers made up about a third of the whole number of farms in this group. In France, the country of a greater development of special cultures, for instance, the vineyards, requiring special treatment and care, the corresponding group employs wage labor probably in a somewhat larger proportion.

The revolutionary proletariat can not make it its aim, at least for the nearest future and for the beginning of the period of the proletarian dictatorship, to win this class over to its side. The proletariat will have to content itself with neutralizing this class, i. e., with making it make a neutral position in the struggle between the

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proletariat and the bourgeoisie. The vacillation of this class is unavoidable, and in the beginning of the new epoch its predominating tendency in the advanced capitalist countries will be in favor of the bourgeoisie, for the ideas and sentiments of private property are characteristic of the possessors. The victorious proletariat will immediately improve the lot of this class by abolishing the system of rent and mortgage, by the introduction of machinery and electrical appliances into agriculture. The proletarian state power cannot at once abolish private property in most of the capitalist countries, but must do away with all duties and levies imposed upon this class of people by the landlords; it will also secure to the small and middle peasantry the ownership of their land holdings and enlarge them, putting the peasants in possession of the land they used to rent (abolition of rents).

The combination of such measures with a relentless struggle against the bourgeoisie guarantees the full success of the neutralization policy. The transition to collective agriculture must be managed with much circumspection and step by step, and the proletarian state power must proceed by the force of example without any violence toward the middle peasantry.

5. The landed peasants or farmers (Grossbauern) are capitalists in agriculture, managing their lands usually with several hired laborers. They are connected with the "peasantry" only by their rather low standard of culture, their way of living, the personal manual work of their land. This is the most numerous element of the bourgeois class, and the decided enemy of the revolutionary proletariat. The chief attention of the Communist Party in the rural districts must be given to the struggle agains this element, to the liberation of the laboring and exploited majority of the rural population from the moral and political influence of these exploiters.

After the victory of the proletariat in the towns, this class will inevitably oppose it by all means, from sabotage to open armed counter-revolutionary resistance. The revolutionary proletariat must, therefore, immediately begin to prepare the necessary force for the disarmament of every single man of this class, and together with the overthrow of the capitalists in industry, the proletariat must deal a relentless, crushing blow to this class. To that end it must arm the rural proletariat and organize Soviets in the country, with no room for exploiters, and a preponderant place must be reserved to the proletarians and the semi-proletarians.

But the expropriation even of the landed peasants can by no means be an immediate object of the victorious proletariat, considering the lack of material, particularly of technical material, and further of the social conditions necessary for to socialization of such lands.

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In some probably exceptional cases parts of their estates will be confiscated if they are leased in small parcels, or if they are specially needed by the small-peasant population. A free use must be also secured to this population, on definite terms, of a part of the agricultural machinery of the landed peasants, etc. As a general rule, however, the state power must leave the peasants in possession of their land, confiscating it only in case of resistance to the government of the laboring and exploited peasants. The experience of the Russian proletarian revolution, whose struggle against the landed peasants became very complicated and prolonged owing to a number of particular circumstances, nevertheless shows that this class has been at least taught what it costs to make the slightest attempt at resistance, and is now quite willing to serve loyally the aims of the proletarian state. It begins even to be penetrated, although very slowly, by a respect for the government which protects every worker and deals relentlessly with the idle rich.

The specific conditions which complicated and prolonged the struggle of the Russian proletariat against the landed peasantry after the overthrow of the bourgeoisie, consist mainly in the fact that after the coup d'etat of October 25 and November 7, 1917, the Russian revolution traversed a stage of "general democratic," actually bourgeois democratic, struggle of the peasantry as a whole against the landowners, and there were further the low standard of living and scarcity of the urban proletariat, and, finally, the enormous distances and exceedingly bad transport conditions. Insofar as these adverse conditions no not exist in the advanced countries, the revolutionary proletariat in Europe and America must prepare with much more energy and carry out a much more rapid and complete victory over the resistance of the landed peasantry, depriving it of all possibility of resistance. This is of the utmost importance, considering that until a complete, absolute victory is won, the proletarian state power cannot be regarded as secure and capable of resisting its enemies.

6. The revolutionary proletariat must proceed to an immediate and unconditional confiscation of the estates of the landowners and big landlords, that is, of all those who systematically employ wage labor, directly or through their tenants, who exploit all the small (and not infrequently also the middle) peasantry in their neighborhood, and who do not do any actual manual work. To this element belong the majority of the descendants of the feudal lords (the nobility of Russia, Germany, and Hungary, the restored seigneurs of France, the Lords in England, the former slave owners in America), or financial magnates who have become particularly rich, or a mixture of those two classes of exploiters and idlers.

No propaganda can be admitted in the ranks of the Communist

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parties in favor of an indemnity to be paid to the owners of large estates for their expropriation. In the present conditions prevailing in Europe and America this would mean treason to Socialism and the imposition of a new tax on the laboring and exploited masses, who have already suffered from the war, which has increased the number of millionaires and has multiplied their wealth.

In the advanced capitalist countries the Communist International considers that it should be a prevailing practice to preserve the large agricultural establishments and manage them on the lines of the "Soviet farms" in Russia. In regard to the management of the estates confiscated by the victorious proletariat from the owners of large landed property—the prevailing practice in Russia—the cause of economic backwardness was the partition of this landed property for the benefit of the peasantry, and in comparatively rare exceptions was there a preservation of the so-called "Soviet farm," managed by the proletarian state at its expense, and transforming the former wage laborers into workers employed by the state, and into members of the Soviets managing these farms.

The preservation of large landholdings serves best the interests of the revolutionary elements of the population, namely, the landless agricultural workers and semi-proletarian small landholders, who get their livelihood mainly by working on the large estates. Besides, the nationalization of large landholdings makes the urban population, at least in part, less dependent on the peasantry for their food.

In those places, however, where relics of the feudal system still prevail where "serfdom" and the system of giving half of the products to the peasants prevails and where a part of the soil belongs to the large estates the landlord privileges give rise to special forms of exploitation.

In countries where large landholdings are insignificant in number, while a great number of small tenants are in search of land, the distribution of large holdings can prove a sure means of winning the peasantry for the revolution, while the preservation of the large estates can be of no value for the provisioning of the towns. The first and most important task of the proletarian state is to secure a lasting victory. The proletariat must put up with a temporary decline of production so long as it makes for the success of the revolution. Only by persuading the middle peasantry to maintain a neutral attitude, and by gaining the support of a large part, if not the whole, of the small peasantry, can the lasting maintenance of the proletarian power be secured.

At any rate, where the land of the large owners is being distributed, the interests of the agricultural proletariat must be of primary consideration.

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The implements of large estates must be converted into state property absolutely intact, but on the unfailing condition that these implements be put at the disposal of the small peasants gratis, subject to conditions worked out by the proletarian state.

If just at first, after the proletarian coup d'etat, the immediate confiscation of the big estates becomes absolutely necessary, and, moreover, also the banishment or internment of all landowners as leaders of the counter-revolution, and relentless oppressors of the whole rural population, the proletarian state, in proportion to its consolidation not only in the towns but in the country as well, must systematically strive to take advantage of all the forces of this class, of all those who posses valuable experience, learning, organizing talent, and must use them (under special control of the most reliable Communist workers) to organize large agriculture on Socialist principles.

7. The victory of Socialism over capitalism, the consolidation of Socialism, will be definitely established at the time that the proletarian state power, after having finally subdued all resistance of the exploiters and secured for itself complete and absolute submission, will reorganize the whole industry on the base of wholesale collective production and a new technical basis (founded on the electrification of agriculture). This alone will afford a possibility of such radical help in the technical and the social sense, accorded by the town to the backward and dispersed country, that this help will create the material base for an enormous increase in the productivity of agricultural and general farming work, and will induce the small farmers by force of example and for their own benefit to change to large, collective machine agriculture.

Most particularly in the rural districts real possibility of successful struggle for Socialism requires, in the first place, that all Communist Parties inculcate in the industrial proletariat the necessity of sacrifice on its part, and readiness to sacrifice itself for the overthrow of the bourgeoisie, and that the consolidation of the proletariat be based on the proletariat's knowing how to organize and to lead the working and exploited masses, and on the vanguard's being ready for the greatest sacrifices and heroism. In the second place, possibility of success requires that the laboring and most exploited masses in the country experience immediate and great improvement in their position caused by the victory of the proletariat and by the defeat of the exploiters. Unless this is done, the industrial proletariat cannot depend on the support of the rural districts, and cannot secure the provisioning of the town with foodstuffs.

8. The enormous difficulty of organization and education for the revolutionary struggle of the agrarian laboring masses placed

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by capitalism in a condition of particular oppression, dispersion and often a mediaeval dependence require from the Communist parties special care for the strike movement in the rural districts. It requires enforced support and wide development of mass strikes of the agrarian proletarians and semi-proletarians. The experience of the Russian revolutions of 1905 and 1917, confirmed and enlarged now by the experience of Germany and other advanced countries, shows that only the development of mass strike struggle (under certain conditions the small peasants are also to be drawn into these strikes) will shake the inactivity of the country population, arouse in them a class consciousness and the consciousness of the necessity of class organization in the exploited masses in the country, and show them the obvious practical use of their joining the town workers. From this standpoint the promotion of Unions of Agricultural Workers, the cooperation of Communists in the country, and woodworkers' organizations are of great importance. The Communists must likewise support the cooperative organizations formed by the exploited agricultural population closely connected with the revolutionary labor movement. A vigorous agitation is likewise to be carried on among the small peasants.

The Congress of the Communist International denounces as traitors those Socialists—unfortunately there are such not only in the yellow Second International, but also among the three most important European parties, which have left the Second International—who are not only indifferent toward the strike struggle in the rural districts, but oppose it (as does Kautsky) on the ground that it might cause a falling-off of the production of foodstuffs. No programs and no solemn declarations have any value if the fact is not in evidence, testified to by actual deeds that the Communists and labor leaders know how to put the development of the proletarian revolution and its victory above everything else and are ready to make the utmost sacrifices for the sake of this victory. Unless this is a fact, there is no escape, no barrier against starvation, dissolution, and new imperialistic wars.

The Communist parties must make all efforts possible to start as soon as possible setting up Soviets in the country, and these Soviets must be chiefly composed of hired laborers and semi-proletarians. Only in connection with the mass-strike struggle of the most oppressed class will the Soviets be able to serve fully their ends, and become sufficiently firm to dominate (and further on to include in their ranks) the small peasants. But if the strike struggle is not yet developed, and the ability to organize the agrarian proletariat is weak because of the strong oppression by the landowners and the landed peasants, and also because of the want of support from

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the industrial workers and their unions, the organization of the Soviets in the rural districts will require long preparation by means of creating small Communist centers, of intensive propaganda, expounding in a most popular form the demands of the Communists, and illustrating the reasons of these demands by specially convincing cases of exploitation, and pressure by systematic excursions of industrial workers into the country, etc.

THE ULTIMATE AIM OF THE COMMUNIST INTERNATIONAL — WORLD COMMUNISM

The ultimate aim of the Communist International, to replace world capitalist economy by a world system of Communism, Communist society, the basis for which has been prepared by the whole course of historical development, is mankind's only way out, for it alone can abolish the contradictions of the capitalist system which threaten to degrade and destroy the human race. (*From the Programme of the Communist International.*)

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Lenin Corner

ON THE CHARACTERISTICS OF IMPERIALISM

At the present time, approximately since the beginning of the twentieth century, world capitalism has reached the stage of imperialism. Imperialism, or the epoch of finance capital, represents such a highly developed capitalist economy when monopolist combines of capitalists—syndicates, cartels, trusts—have assumed decisive importance, enormously concentrated banking capital has fused with industrial capital, the export of capital into foreign countries has grown to colossal dimensions, the whole globe has been territorially partitioned among the richest countries, and the economic partitioning of the world among international trusts has begun.

Imperialist wars, i. e., wars for world domination, for markets where banking capital can be utilized, for the stifling of small and weak peoples, are inevitable in such a state of affairs. And it is precisely this that characterizes the first great imperialist war, the war of 1914-1917. (*From "The Revolution of* 1917," *by V. I. Lenin.*)

IMPERIALISM WILL EXPLODE AND TURN INTO ITS OPPOSITE

There is no doubt that the development is going in the direction of a single world trust that will swallow up all enterprises and all states without exception. But the development in this direction is proceeding under such stress, with such tempo, with such contradictions, conflicts, and convulsions—not only economical, but also political, national, etc., that before a single world trust will be reached, before the respective finance capitals will have formed a world union of "ultra-imperialism," imperialism will inevitably explode, capitalism will turn into its opposite. (*From Lenin's preface to Bucharin's book on Imperialism and World Economy, written in* 1915.)

THE PRESENT STAGE AND ERA OF PROLETARIAN REVOLUTION

The exceedingly high stage of development attained by world capitalism in general; the displacement of free competition by monopoly capitalism; the preparation, owing to the development of banks and capitalist combines, of an apparatus for social regulation

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of the process of production and distribution of goods; the rising cost of living resulting from the growth of capitalist monopolies, and the increasing pressure exerted by such syndicates over the working class; the horrors and suffering, the ruin and madness bred by the imperialist war—all these put together make the present stage in capitalist development an era of proletarian and Socialist revolution.

This era has begun.

Only a proletarian, Socialist revolution is able to lead humanity out of the blind alley created by imperialism and imperialist wars. Whatever difficulties, possible temporary reverses, and waves of counter-revolution the revolution may encounter, the final victory of the proletariat is certain.

In view of the objective conditions, the first thing to do now is to prepare the proletariat, immediately, and on all points, for the conquering of political power, in order to be able to bring into life political and economic changes that form the contents of a Socialist revolution.—(*From "The Revolution of* 1917" *by V. I. Lenin.*)

THE PROLETARIAN REVOLUTION AND THE DICTATORSHIP OF THE PROLETARIAT

A necessary condition for this social revolution is the dictatorship of the proletariat, i. e., the conquering by the proletariat of such political power as would enable it to crush any resistance offered by the exploiters. In its effort to make the proletariat capable of fulfilling its great historical mission, international Social-Democracy organizes it into an independent political party in opposition to all bourgeois parties, directs all the manifestations of its class struggle, discloses before it the irreconcilable conflict between the interests of the exploiters and those of the exploited, and clarifies for it the historical significance of the imminent social revolution, and the conditions necessary for its coming. At the same time, it reveals to the other sections of the toiling and the exploited masses the hopelessness of their condition in capitalist society and the need of a social revolution if they wish to be free of the capitalist yoke. The party of the working class, the Social-Democracy, calls upon all strata of the toiling and exploited population to join its ranks insofar as they adopt the point of view of the proletariat. (*From "The Revolution of* 1917," *by V. I. Lenin.*)

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